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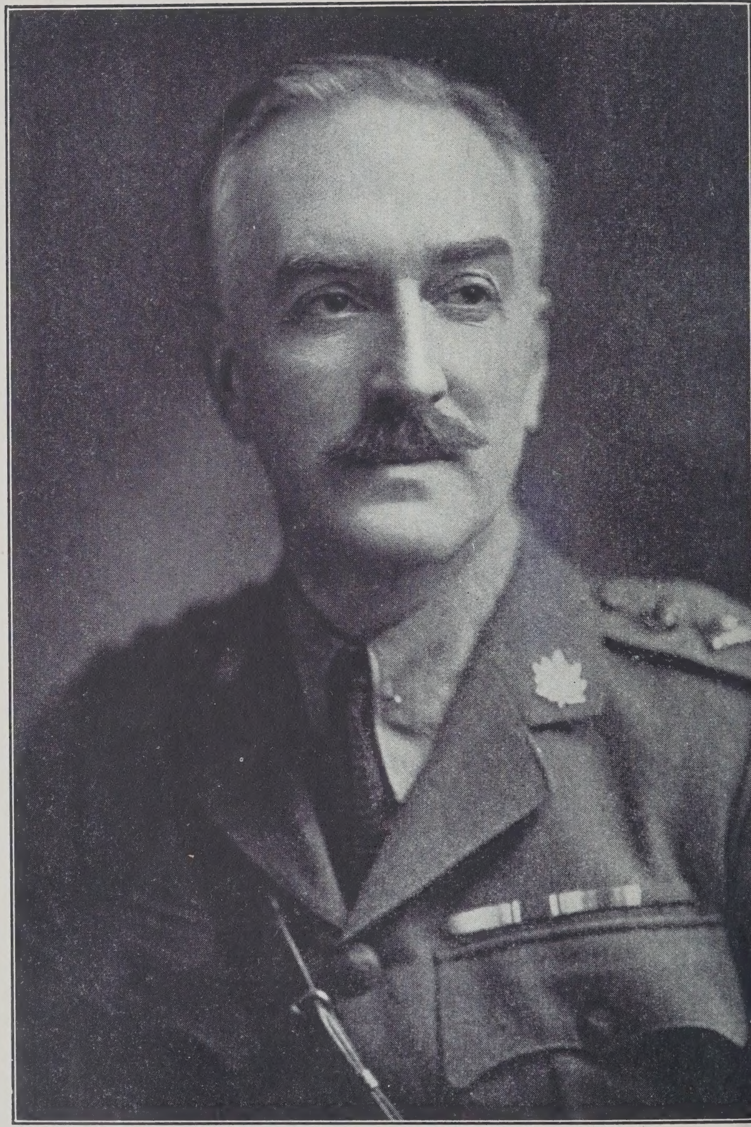
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



COL. A. E. KIRKPATRICK, J.P., V.D., A.D.C.
PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1926

EMPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1926

Twenty-fourth Year of Issue

GOD SAVE THE KING

TORONTO
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1927

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

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ANNUAL MEETING 318

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE

YEAR 1926

Patron:
FIELD-MARSHALL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G., G.C.M.G.

Honorary President:
HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT WILLINGDON, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., etc.

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First Vice-President: Colonel Alexander Fraser, LL.D.
Second Vice-President: Mr. R. E. Patterson.
Third Vice-President: Mr. Hugh S. Eayrs.
Secretary-Treasurer: Mr. H. G. Stapells, M.A.

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Mr. Leonard McMurray
Mr. W. A. Riddell
Mr. H. W. Crossin

Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns. *Immediate Past President.*

Dr. D. J. Goggin,
Mr. J. P. Murray,
Mr. F. B. Featherstonhaugh, K.C.
Representing the Past Presidents.

CONSTITUTION

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called the Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed, under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British Subject and shall consist of

(*a*) Active Resident Members,
(*b*) Non-Resident Members,
(*c*) Life Members,
(*d*) Honorary Members.

Active Resident Members and Non-Resident Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Active resident members shall pay an annual fee of $4.00 and non-resident members $3.00, this fee to include membership obtained after October 15th in any year till December 31st of the following year.

Payment of such fee shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members.

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; and seventeen other members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members together with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall hold office throughout the calendar year. All Past Presidents shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President, and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The Election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than December 15th of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such Annual Meeting, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(*c*) Membership Committee.
(*d*) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until December 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at the regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the address and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, viz.: January first to December thirty-first.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE
AND
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada are affiliated with a view to promote mutually the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire. Each extends to visitors and members vouched for by the other the usual courtesies on arrival in London or Toronto.

CHIVALRY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY

PROF. L. H. MARSHALL, B.A., B.D., PROFESSOR OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY IN MCMASTER UNIVERSITY.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, January 14, 1926.

PROFESSOR MARSHALL

Mr. President and Gentlemen, may I say at the outset that I am not supposing that you need any education in British chivalry; I have simply chosen the topic as a topic of interest. I want to speak, first of all, of the spirit of chivalry, and then of British chivalry in the war, and then another word or two on chivalry in common life.

In mediæval times chivalry stood for the union of the Christian and the military ideals, so far, at any rate, as such incompatibles could be blended. In fact chivalry has been defined as the interpenetration of Christianity into the practice of arms: the chivalrous knight of the Middle Ages was not only a brave and skilful fighter, ready whenever occasion arose to reveal his prowess on the field of battle, but also he stood for utter chastity, for a high standard of honor, for the protection of the defenceless and the weak, and for mercy and humanity to a vanquished foe. The Knights Hospitallers and the Knights Templars of the 12th Century, orders of soldier monks, were avowed to chastity, and at the same time they counted it the main duty and privilege of their lives to protect churchmen, pilgrims, widows, and orphans from pagan ferocity and cruelty. And if barbarity was one of the outstanding characteristics of war all through the Middle Ages—although I am not at all sure that they did anything worse in those days than we did in the Great War—at the same time the barbarity of the Middle Ages was again and again checked by the spirit of chivalry. Let me quote one famous example well-known to all. The Black Prince after his astounding victory over the French at Poictiers in 1356, a victory that placed the French King John in his power, showed that he was a model of chivalry. He was courteous and deferential in the extreme to his captive. At supper time he stood behind his captive's chair, acted as his waiter, and spoke words of praise of the valor that he had shown.

Our poets too have sung songs in praise of chivalry. Chaucer, for instance, speaking of the knight who was found among the Canterbury pilgrims, said,

A Knyght ther was, and that a worthy man
That from the tyme that he first began
To riden out, he loved chivalry
Trouth and honour, fredom and curtesie.

and after describing his campaigns he adds,

And though that he was worthy he was wyse,
And of his port as meek as is a mayde.
He never yet no vileyne ne sayde
In all his lyf unto no maner wyght,
He was a verray parfit, gentil knyght.

And then in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Sir Walter Scott makes it clear to us that, while savagery entered very largely into the old border warfare between England and Scotland, the spirit of chivalry was by no means absent. For example, when Lord Cranston, after a short combat, had stretched out on the ground, his foe William of Deloraine, his thoughts immediately turned to mercy—

But when he reined his courser round
And saw his foeman on the ground,
Lie senseless as the bloody clay,
He bade his page to stanch the wound
And there beside the warrior stay,
And tend him in his doubtful state
And lead him to Branksome Castle gate.
His noble mind was inly moved
For the kinsman of the maid he loved.

In describing the armour of one of the English knights, who took part in this business, Scott says,

His buckler scarce a span,
No larger fence had he.
He never counted him a man
Would strike below the knee.

One could wish that some of our theological controversialists would study the laws of knighthood and chivalry. These knights were fierce fighters. When they fought, they fought; but they stood not only for valor, they stood for chivalry, and by chivalry they meant honor, clean fighting; they meant also mercy to the vanquished foe. There is something very magnificent in these old chivalrous knights.

Of course I am not suggesting that there was no such thing as chivalry in pre-Christian times. The spirit of chivalry, for instance, from time to time flashes like a jewel from the pages of the Old Testament. Joseph, for example, as Viceroy of Egypt, might easily have wreaked a terrible vengeance on those brothers of his for the wrong they did him in the days of his boyhood, but his thoughts never seem to have turned in that direction at all. The narrator tells us that when he was in his brothers' presence he could scarcely restrain his emotion; he wept aloud; he fell on their necks and kissed them. David, again, might easily have seized the spear that was stuck in the ground at Saul's head, and put and end to the life of the man who more than once treacherously sought to pin him to the wall with a javelin when he was playing the harp, and made his life bitter by hunting him like a partridge on the mountains. But David chivalrously refused to take so mean an advantage even of his worst foe.

Nor must we suppose for one moment that chivalry is the monopoly of the British people. That would be intolerable British insularity. We can find examples of chivalry everywhere. I sometimes think one of the most chivalrous soldiers of the 19th century was that great Italian, Garibaldi. During the guerilla warfare in which he was engaged in South America he fell as a prisoner of war into the hands of a man named Millan. This man not only put him in a prison cell, but also hung Garibaldi by the wrists for two hours from a beam in the ceiling. A little while afterwards, the fortunes of war changed and Millan fell into the hands of Garibaldi, and what happened? Instead of thinking of vengeance, Garibaldi ordered the man to be set free on the spot. That was wonderful chivalry. Later on, in his Italian campaigns we are told that there were six Austrian officers who became prisoners of war of Garibaldi. They had been speaking of him as a *"red devil,"* and when they were ushered into his presence they expected nothing else than that he would order their instant execution. Imagine, therefore, their surprise when he shook them by the hand, every one of them, and spoke words of commendation of their valor, and pity for their misfortune.

Yes, we could cull examples of chivalry doubtless from the annals of every nation, but it seems to me—and I hope I am not influenced by national prejudice in this belief—that there is no race that is so instinctively and naturally chivalrous as the Anglo-Saxon race, and no nation that is so naturally and instinctively chivalrous as the British nation.

And so I want you now to consider for a moment or two British chivalry in war. I want to bring to your attention several examples of the most wonderful chivalry shown by the British race during the 19th and 20th centuries. The first I propose is that remarkable prayer of Nelson, the prayer that he wrote just before the battle of Trafalgar. This prayer, I think, gains in significance when one remembers that Nelson never supposed that any eyes would ever see it other than his own. This is how it runs:

> May the great God Whom I worship grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and *may no misconduct of anyone tarnish it.* And *may humanity after victory be the predominant feature of the British Fleet.* For myself individually, I commit my life to Him Who made me; and may His blessing light upon my endeavors for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself and the just cause which is entrusted to me. Amen.

Now those two sentences "*May no misconduct of anyone tarnish our victory,*" and "*may humanity after victory be the predominant feature of the British Fleet,*" those two sentences, I say, give expression to the finest traditions of British chivalry.

Then again, surely it is a very striking fact that when Napoleon decided to surrender to his enemies, he chose to surrender to the British nation on the ground that he believed that the British nation was more likely than any other to deal with him fairly, justly and generously. Listen to this letter which he wrote to the British Prince Regent from Ile d'Aix:

> Royal Highness: A prey to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the powers of Europe, I have terminated my public career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws which I claim from Your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

That is a fine tribute for Napoleon Bonaparte to pay to British chivalry.

Then going on a quarter of a century I think we ought to note the perfectly wonderful welcome which the citizens of London gave to one of Napoleon Bonaparte's greatest generals, Marshall Soult. Soult had been the opponent of Moore and Wellington in the Peninsula War, he had been the great arm of Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo, but when he came to London as Ambassador Extraordinary, to represent the French government at the coronation of Queen Victoria, we are told that nothing could possible exceed the enthusiasm with which that old French general was greeted by the people of London. The white-haired soldier, we are told, was wildly cheered whenever the people caught a glimpse either of his face or his figure.

To come to still more recent times. Shortly after the Boer War several Boer generals paid a visit to the city of London, and not only were they received with the extremest cordiality by King Edward at Buckingham Palace, but the enthusiasm with which they were received by the citizens of London was an enthusiasm that simply knew no bounds. It made a wonderful impression on those men.

Then to come to another incident, only five years ago. At that time, as you know, our Irish Sinn Fein troubles were at their height. Just a little over five years ago there died in Brixton Prison, London, a man named McSwiney, who died a hunger striker. He was the Lord Mayor of Cork. The facts are these: the Sinn Feiners were allowed to arrange a most impressive funeral procession through the streets of London; but that is not all. That procession was actually accompanied by the uniformed men of the Sinn Fein army, who from the British point of view at that particular time were political rebels actually in a state of war against the British Crown. And yet that procession was carried through with the friendly protection and the active assistance of the inimitable London police. And in spite of all the fearful political passions which had been roused at that time, the behaviour of the London crowd was absolutely beyond reproach. There was no demonstration whatever other than a demonstration of sympathy and respect, and the Londoners took off their hats as a silent tribute to a man who had died hard for his ideas, though those ideas were entirely different from their own. Now I rather doubt—I may be wrong, and I hope I am wrong—but I rather doubt if there is any other European capital that would or could have enacted such a scene as that under similar conditions of bitter political tension and strife.

It is her tolerance and her chivalry that have made Britain so successful as a colonizer, and have enabled her again and again to turn her bitterest foes into her warmest friends. Now of course I am quite incompetent to speak of the Canadian situation, but I will just venture to suggest that Canada would not be in the enjoyment of the measure of peace and concord and national unity that she enjoys today, but for the fact that through a sound British political instinct French Canadian nationality has been preserved in full vigor.

Then look at other similar examples of the way in which we have turned enemies into friends. In 1849 we were at war with the Sikhs, and a very terrible war it was. But when the war was over those Sikhs were so chivalrously handled that they became our friends, and during all the terrible days of the Indian Mutiny they stood faithfully by our side and actually fought with British soldiers against the mutineers. I think that is a wonderful example of the effect of chivalry.

In 1880 we were at war with Afghanistan, but the Afghan trouble was so wisely and chivalrously handled that already by the year 1885 the Afghans were prepared, should necessity arise, to take the field with us against the Russians.

Let me take another example from the American Civil War. I know I am outside the limits of the British Empire, but I am simply thinking of men who are, at any rate, of British extraction and members of the Anglo-Saxon race. Who that ever read of General Grant's treatment of General Lee after his surrender, can forget it? General Grant, as his name implies, came of British stock, though, of course, he was an American citizen. He did not receive Lee in the spirit of jubilation and triumph; he received him in a spirit of sympathy and sadness, as for the downfall of a man who had fought long and fought valiantly. You remember how he refused to accept the sword of General Lee. Do you remember how he declared that all General Lee's officers should be allowed to retain their swords and their horses? He also said that all the Confederate cavalry troopers should be allowed to retain their horses, because they would need them on the farms, and he also said there would be a general pardon for all Confederate officers for their high treason. There you see chivalry doing its beneficent work of reconciliation.

Then, as you know, at the beginning of this century we were at war with the Boers. A year or two afterwards, by giving full self-government to the Boers,—an act of trust which was well-nigh too much for many of our own people, an act of trust, too, which for its sheer generous audacity left the greater part of Europe simply dazed and dismayed,—the bitter feelings engendered by the war were very largely assuaged. And can another empire produce such a wonderful record as this? Think of it: within a few years of the Boer War, two generals who twenty-five years ago were in the field against us had been the British Prime Ministers of a United South Africa. I refer, of course to General Louis Botha, and General Smuts, and I am sure that we are all alive to the fact that these two men, not only during the days of peace but during those terrible days of the Great War, rendered magnificent service to the British Empire. And let us remember too that chivalry awakens chivalry. Perhaps you will forgive me if I read a few sentences from a public tribute paid in Liverpool to General Botha shortly after his death in August, 1919. "The finest characteristic of General Botha, whose passing the whole world has reason to deplore, was his chivalry, his generosity, his magnanimity. He had fought for the independence of his fellow-countrymen and had been terribly beaten. He had seen his little farmstead burned to the ground. He had suffered the loss of vast herds of sheep and cattle. His subsequent attitude might easily have been one of mere sullen acquiescence and mere longing for revenge, but that spirit, devout Christian as he was, he utterly renounced. He took the hand of friendship that was offered him, the bitterness of the past he buried, and he proved himself more than worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Loyal and wise in counsel, faithful and courageous in war, he has displayed a fineness of character and a magnificence of spirit which will live on as a rich memory and source of inspiration in the future course of the world."

Now, I come to the question of Anglo-German relations. I hope that we may say, without any extravagance, that during the war, in spite of all the bitter feelings that were roused by submarine piracy on the high seas, Britain on the whole—there may have been departures here and there—was loyal to her traditions of chivalry. I know the British Fleet again and again went to no small trouble and took no small risks to rescue drowning German sailors. I know too, beyond any shadow of doubt, that—generally speaking again; there may have been occasional exceptions—German prisoners of war in the Old Country received just and even generous treatment. Then again, since the war there can be little doubt that British prestige has grown by leaps and bounds, through several considerations. First of all, let me mention the excellent behavior of the British armies of occupation. I will not suggest that their behavior has been perfect but they have behaved splendidly. They have discharged their duties with a minimum of irritation and annoyance and inconvenience to the German people, and there is plenty of German testimony to that. Then think of the fair-mindedness of the British Commissioners in Upper Silesia and in Danzig. Again, we are told that British officers who have had to go on special missions to Berlin have been exceedingly tactful and have often enough gone about in civilian attire instead of strutting about the streets in their military uniforms. All these things, it seems to me, are in complete harmony with the general traditions of British chivalry. Then surely we can congratulate ourselves, very humbly, on the fact that the first step to more friendly and cordial relationships with the German people has been taken by Britain. The action of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, (now Sir Austen) at the Guildhall Banquet last September, in handing the loving-cup to the German Ambassador, has been severely criticized in various quarters, not only on the Continent but in the Empire itself. There again I must say I am on the side of Austen Chamberlain. I think that action was in complete harmony with the finest traditions of British chivalry. Surely at this time of day it is only fair that we should recognize that in dealing with Germany today we are not dealing with the Hohenzollern dynasty, nor are we dealing with the Prussian military caucus: we are dealing with the German people, through their own freely elected representatives. I have always held—I held it even during the war, and I am afraid often gave great annoyance—that the German people were entirely deceived as to the origin of the war, deceived by their own government, and deceived on a scale without precedent in the history of the world. Now I say that deliberately. I had the good or evil fortune to be in Germany when the war broke out. I was amongst the deceived, along with many other Britishers in Germany who knew only the German side of the case. The British colony in Munster gave a handsome contribution to the German Red Cross Fund in the early days of the war as an expression of their contempt for the politics of their own country. Why did they act like that? Because they were deceived, utterly deceived, as to the true state of affairs, just as the German people were deceived. May I tell you one or two facts which are probably new to you as to the game I saw going on before my eyes? As an Englishman in Germany at such a time as that I was naturally anxious to know how things were going on. I could not get hold of any newspapers but the German newspapers. I tried hard; I went where I had usually got British papers, and could not get them. I tried to get French papers; I could not get them. Wherever I went I was told they were not coming through. I asked why. The newsvendor said he did not know, he did not understand. Later on the truth leaked out. The German people were deliberately cut off from the foreign press for several days before the outbreak of the war, because the German government were determined that the German people should get to know only what they wished them to know, and should not have any chance whatsoever of learning what other nations were thinking or doing. That was a very astute move. I was in Berlin on July 31st of that terrible year. I was not actually present at the meeting to which I am going to refer but I saw people coming away from it, Germans whom I knew, and they were in tears, for on that afternoon—and I think the facts are that at that time never a shot had been fired, and the rest of Europe was wondering whether it was to be peace or war—the Kaiser had told a huge group of Berliners that in the midst of the deepest peace, without any proclamation of war, without the slightest provocation from Germany, Germany had suddenly been attacked by her enemies on every side, their motive being jealousy of German advance and

German commercial prosperity. I was walking about the streets of Berlin that Friday night, and saw taxis rushing like mad in every direction; every few yards a bundle of papers was thrown out, and people rushed to seize them. What were those papers? Copies of the Kaiser's speech. On Friday night there was not a man or woman or child who did not go to bed absolutely convinced that Germany had been attacked, and that she was in for a war of defence against a universal conspiracy of Europe against her. I remember, too, on the Saturday bulletins were issued, official bulletins by the German government, saying that the Russian army had already crossed the eastern border and had started to murder innocent villagers and railway men in East Prussia. And there was no Russian army across the border at all. I saw the bulletins with my own eyes. I thought the world had gone mad. When we came down to breakfast on Sunday morning August second, we saw in huge letters in all our newspapers these words "France attacks." Again, while the French army was still several kilometers from the German border, the German people were told that the French army had crossed the border and had started attacking places on German territory. When England came into the War, what were the German people told? They were simply told that England, seeing that Germany was in difficulties on the east and difficulties on the west, in a mean and dastardly and cowardly fashion had taken advantage of Germany's difficult situation with a view to smashing the German fleet and capturing German trade.

I simply give you a few samples of the type of German propaganda. That is why I have always had a certain amount of sympathy with the German people. Plain simple Germans whom I knew, came to me in utter consternation, saying, "What has Germany done that she should be attacked in this treacherous fashion?" From that point of view you can to some extent understand the fierce fanaticism that was displayed by German people during the War. They thought they were fighting against a universal conspiracy against them, and I believe this view gains a certain amount of corroboration from the fact that the military collapse of Germany was due in part—I say only in part—to the fact that there were crowds of German soldiers who had begun to realize that Germany was engaged not in a war of defence, but a war of aggression. Then you remember that one of the reasons for the Kaiser's flight to Holland was that he had been told by General Hindenburg that his life was not safe with the army.

That is why I think, as I say, that we ought to welcome the friendly gesture of Mr. Austen Chamberlain to the German people. That is why we ought to rejoice in the achievements of Locarno, and above all in the spirit of Locarno. And we ought, I think, to lay to heart the noble words uttered by the Younger Pitt about a century ago. He uttered them in regard to Anglo-French relations, but we ought to take them to heart in regard to Anglo-German relations.

> To suppose that any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish. It has its foundation neither in the experience of nations nor in the history of men.

Now a word or two about chivalry in common life. It seems to me, gentlemen, that there is a very close affinity between the spirit of chivalry and what we call the sporting spirit. The sporting spirit, you know, is a peculiarly British phenomenon, and really it is a very wonderful phenomenon, a very beautiful phenomenon. For instance, in the Old Country whenever two schools have a football match, there is one little ceremony at the end of the game which is never omitted. The ceremony is this: the vanquished team calls for three cheers for the victors, and then the victors call for three hearty cheers for the vanquished. Now, that is no trivial matter. I think it is a very important factor in the moral training of British boys and youths. That, remember, helps to destroy jealousy, and jealousy has to die before chivalry can live. That same spirit is often carried into British political life. In the best circles, differences in regard to political opinions are never allowed to interfere with personal friendships. It is not at all an uncommon thing for the victor at an election to find that one of the first to come and shake his hand and congratulate him upon his victory is the defeated candidate. That is British. Again, it is not at all an unknown thing for the two protagonists in a parliamentary debate, after saying very hard things about each other's ideas and arguments and opinions across the floor of the House, to link arm in arm and go off and take a friendly dinner together. That, again, is peculiarly British. When the waters of political controversy are vitiated and even poisoned by personal hatreds and personal animosities, the state of affairs is as tragic as it is un-British and unchivalrous.

Then again, let me say another word about the sporting spirit. Needless to say, I have not the slightest sympathy with professional boxing before huge audiences; I have no sympathy with these Jack Dempsey fights; I simply loathe them. (That is my personal attitude). But I have a great deal of sympathy with the practice of boxing among boys and youths in the privacy of their own clubs, and I will tell you why. I think it is of great value in training not only in the art of self-defence, but also in the art of self-control. I rather like to see two youngsters shake hands before they put on the gloves, and then pummel each other a bit, and then shake hands at the end of the affray. I think in that way they learn to control themselves and suppress malice and vindictive feeling. It is fine training for their future years when they have to meet the inevitable knocks and jolts of life. It is a great thing to learn to take a blow and knock without vindictive feeling, and if occasion arises, to give a clean knock without any malice in it.

The spirit of chivalry, it seems to me too, is opposed to all foolish passions and prejudices that warp men's judgment. You must listen to me chivalrously, because you may not agree with me a bit. It seems to me that a chivalrous person cannot be altogether anti-negro, or anti-semitic or anti-Catholic, or anti-Protestant, or anti-German, or anti-Jap, for this simple reason: that a chivalrous person has generosity enough to recognize that no class, no sect, no nation is entirely bad.

Let us see to it that there is no decline in our chivalry towards women. I remember in the days when I used to live in Berlin, they used to say to me, "If ever you see a man give up his seat on a street car to a woman, or if ever you see a man refusing to elbow a woman out of his way as he is mounting a street car or a railway train, you may rest assured that that man is either British or American." I thought that was a fine tribute. Let us continue to deserve that reputation.

One of the severest tests of character is to be found in the way we react to those who annoy us and malign us and wrong us. Then comes the test as to whether a man has any chivalry in his being. If our response is simply a tumult of raging and vindictive passion, we have there the positive proof that there is comparatively little chivalry in our nature. I love to recall how grand old Abraham Lincoln—and remember Lincoln is a British name, for although he was an American, he was of British extraction—made Stanton Secretary of War in his cabinet, although he knew quite well the fact that Stanton had called him a low cunning clown and had nicknamed him "the original gorilla." Lincoln knew all that, but Stanton was the best man for the position, and he chose Stanton, and he turned Stanton, who was a foe, into a friend and brother. It seems to me in that particular case chivalry rises to the height of that magnanimity which is enjoined upon us in the Sermon on the Mount. There the greatest Teacher, the heaven-sent Teacher, urges us to remember—though His words are often absurdly misunderstood and misinterpreted, —that by patience, by generosity, and by chivalry, we can often enough turn our foes into friends, and when we have been wronged it is our business not to think of inflicting a counter-wrong, but to think rather of destroying the wrong and creating friendship in its place. I believe that teaching of the Master, so often regarded by men in this world as impracticable and unpractical, is not only morally the highest, but in actual practice it is the most effective, as the experience of men and of nations so abundantly proves; and the higher you and I rise in the direction of chivalry, the more do we reveal our kinship with our Heavenly Father Who allows His sun to shine upon the evil and upon the good, and sends His rain upon the just and upon the unjust.

The thanks of the Club were tendered to the speaker by REV. PROVOST SEAGER of TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

THE EMPIRE CLUB AND PUBLIC OPINION

AN ADDRESS BY REV. DR. TREVOR H. DAVIES.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, January 21, 1926.

PRESIDENT BURNS introduced the speaker.

DR. DAVIES

Mr. President, my Lord Bishop, and Gentlemen: It is a very great happiness to me to be with you today before my friend your President retires from the full flare of his high office to the quieter and mellower and more tranquil shades of his friends upon the platform. I have a friend who was a padre attached to one of our great naval fleets in the Firth of Forth during the War, and he was telling me that the grace that is pronounced in the Navy is extremely brief, consisting of two words. They all rise and the padre says, "Thank God," and they fall to it. On one occasion he was absent, and the captain rose in his place and said, "Is padre not here?" The answer was no; whereupon the captain said, "Thank God!" and they fell to. It shows the moral discernment of this Club, inasmuch as you have made it absolutely certain that for twelve months at every meeting the padre shall be present.

Gentlemen, I want, on the occasion of your Annual Meeting, to speak on what seems to me one important function of this institution. We have here what might be called an excellent laboratory for the fashioning and disseminating of that marvellous influence we speak of as public opinion—extremely difficult to define. Some people find it in the press. Lord Balfour recently said that so far as his observation goes the press of England exerts remarkably little effect on an election. Some people, however, find it in the verdict of an election.

If Ottawa today is an adequate representation of the public mind of Canada, that public opinion is in an extremely chaotic condition. It is something that goes down deeper than party division. We listen to a plethora of arguments; we listen to a frenzy of public appeals; and something within the mind of the nation sits and watches until some principle emerges that it can grasp; then, for a time at all events, the question is settled. Public leaders, writers and speakers are all compelled to feel the pressure of this intangible force which compels them at last to certain issues. Parliament, august body that it is, cannot exist for a moment against the pressure of public opinion. Your law courts, though impartial, are dependent all the time upon public opinion. There is a man sitting in the law court pronouncing a sentence. He knows it will be executed because he has behind him the tremendous force of public opinion; if it were taken away the position of a judge or magistrate would be as undesirable as that of an umpire at a baseball match when he gives an opinion against the home team.

There are two forms of public opinion. The first I might call the solid form, and the second the fluid form. Our laws and institutions represent the solidified forms of public opinion; they are the outcome of the thought and feeling of other generations, and they are very powerful. But they are being supplemented all the time by something that is stronger—the thought and feeling of the living present arising out of the depths of the consciousness of the nation, modifying, sometimes destroying, sometimes renewing those institutions; and the security of an age depends upon the harmony of the solidified form of public opinion with its fluid state. An age of unrest like our age comes about because the fluid form of public opinion is hostile to or critical of that crystallized form which we have embodied in our institutions.

I have two books upon my shelves which bear practically the same title, one of them written by a Russian author, Turgenieff, the other written by the brilliant

English writer, Edmond Gosse. The title of both books is "*Father and Son.*" They both depict, from different standpoints, the gulf that yawns between the two generations. Thirty-five years ago I suppose the attitude of youth was very largely this:—"That is my father's judgment, and it is probably true." Today the attitude would rather be:—"That is my father's judgment, therefore most likely it is wrong."

This is a most interesting time in which to live. The race is marching to probably swifter measures than it ever has done. The ideas which would have kept a generation going, some time ago, for fifty years, it may be, are now exhausted in a few months. But the unrest of our age is due to the fact that the fluid public opinion is assailing those institutions which are the embodiments and the incarnation of the public opinion of other days. There is nothing in this that need alarm anyone, I think. Lord Bryce, in his great book on "Modern Democracy", says:—"There is a sense in which the people are wiser than the wisest person or group. If only you could get at the people—that is the difficulty—things will usually go on well, but the people must have time." That is the faith of a great democrat. It is obvious that time and care must be given to the fashioning of a public opinion, if we are going to have security. The voice of the people is certainly not always the voice of God. Every generation has to learn for itself the extremely difficult lesson that the opinions to which it is so devoted are in no sense the ultimate standard for the determination of a truth or of right. Right, whether public right or private right, does not depend upon the latitude and date; nor is it determined by the votes that are recorded at an election. When the shouting of an election is over, nothing is changed in the world of reality. The only importunate question for us therefore is this: have we adjusted ourselves better to that invisible world?

Sometimes I have stayed in a strange home and have gone upstairs in the dark, and I have imagined that there was another step when there was no step, or I have imagined that there was no step when there was a step. I do not know which is the more bewildering experience. The only thing I do know is that I always discover my mistake with a shock of surprise. If a nation lives in an unreal world it is bound ultimately to discover its mistake, and sometimes with a shock of surprise.

There is a standard to which we must turn, there are values we must find, there are sanctions we must obtain, before we can settle anything. That standard is the eternal truth that is existent and inherent in the universe towards which the evolution of humanity is in a constant state of approximation. I mean this: that all the time truth—what Plato would call regulative, creative truth, the standards that are eternal, the standards of right and truth—all the time those are being slowly unveiled before our minds, and stability depends upon our seeing them and obeying them.

For example, when Pastor Hopkins on that memorable day in human history arose in his pulpit and in the presence of his slave-holding congregation declared his testimony, as he called it, for the first time in the history of the United States of America—declaring bravely that slavery was an iniquity, an unhuman and unscriptural institution—there was embodied in that one incident the whole rationale of education of the human race. Up to that moment he had accepted and shared with others the opinion of his age. He saw what the others saw; he said what the others were saying; then the ray of truth dawned upon his mind, and he accepted it, he obeyed it, and he went out to be the pioneer in the great task of emancipation.

I believe that public opinion in the British Empire—and I honour this Club so much because it is doing a great deal to strengthen the ties that bind the Dominions together,—is today being arrayed against the horrors and inhumanities and senselessness of war; but, gentlemen, we shall not drift into peace. If we drift anywhere we shall drift into strife, drift into chaos. If we drift we shall probably drift towards the rapids and the falls. If we are going to have peace we must think peace, we must talk peace, we must fight for peace, we must pursue peace as relentlessly and insistently as we pursued victory in the days of war. We shall have many difficulties. Solid public opinion sometimes exists, and institutions that have come down to us will bar the way. There is nothing clearer to my mind than this —that the ultimate sanction of the universe is on our side; or, as I prefer to put it, the will of God is on our side.

The reason I find the world such an interesting world in which to live is that it is not finished. I should imagine it would be extremely monotonous to live in a finished world. I had a book sent for review two days ago, and I opened it up at random and just read one page. It was a kind of conversation which had taken place between Mr. J. H. Baldwin, Junior, who is president of one of the great railroads of America, and a neighbour of his some years ago when they were building the tunnel under the Hudson River that leads into New York City. The neighbour said to Baldwin, "You know, I should like to live when the tunnel is finished and we can go all the way to our business by train; fine to live in those days." Baldwin replied, "Yes, well, I suppose it would be, but you know, I would rather live today and help to build the tunnel." It seems to me that there you have two authentic voices. Some people like to live in a finished world, and some people like to live in a world that they must help to finish. In any case, you cannot choose, because you have got to live in a world that is not finished.

When a man thinks that this world is a kind of luxurious hotel provided for his pleasures, where he can sleep in a luxurious bed and sit down at a luxurious table, and do no work except to touch a button and tell the call-boy to do something for him, that man is bound to be disappointed and disgruntled, and eventually he will have a grouch against the universe. But if a man realizes that the world is unfinished, that it is a world where personality is going to be developed through strenuous work, where the compensations of toil are the keener brain and the more resolute will and the swifter imagination, that man will find, not that this is the best of all possible worlds,—it is not; it is going to be much better than it is,—but he will find it is a magnificent place in which to do his work.

My Lord, John Wesley once had dinner with a very wealthy Methodist. He was an old man, and there was a younger preacher with the great evangelist. The wealthy Methodist, to do them honour, had provided a most elaborate dinner, and when they entered the room the young preacher said to the old evangelist, "There is not much self-denial among Methodists today—just look at the table." The old man replied, "No, perhaps not; but there is a magnificent opportunity for self-denial!" So there is a magnificent opportunity for those who want to do work in a world like this. The interest of it, the delight of it, is that personality is going to grow and strengthen because we have something difficult to do, and the material with which we work is spiritual.

The foundation stones of your social and national fabric, the cornerstones, the girders, are all ideas, in the last resort. The world today is in a ferment because of ideas. Go where you like—the Nationalist movement, the Caliphate, the Bolshevik movement—everywhere, east and west, the nations are in a ferment because of the power of ideas. And therefore it is important that we should have institutions that will test, sift, and criticize ideas. Your pessimist as well as your optimist are fallible. It would be a dreadful thing if all the gentlemen who sat down at this table week after week agreed with the speaker.

There has been written a very interesting book, translated into English recently, by the intellectuals of Russia. These men suffered during the Czar's régime. They had their theories of government, but they never tried to disseminate them; and this book is a confession by a half a dozen members of that party. They explain how they lost their opportunity. They had their opportunity; for eight months they were in control of the government of Russia, and this is their confession. They said: "We thought that we could impose our system of government upon the nation without any prior preparation in the mind and soul of the people, and because we attempted that our fabric passed like the dream of a night."

It is perfectly true, gentlemen, that we live in a democracy; that is to say, theoretically at all events the laws are created by the people. None the less I submit to you one of the most important and vital and urgent question that any people can face, particularly democratic people—Will the discipline of the people bear the strain they have imposed on themselves? You know quite well that during the last thirty years the state has been stretching out hands further and further afield —controlling your income, your property, your boys; and it is not finished yet; it is but beginning. You see all that has been done by the people. Of course theoretically it has been done by the people, but none the less I repeat my question—Are the people strong enough to carry the burdens they have imposed upon themselves? This is what I mean: if larger demands are made upon social discipline, then, unless the habit obtains, and respect for authority grows, you are bound to have collision and conflict, and it may be disastrous. We in our great Dominion have tremendous need of a public opinion enlightened, based upon the willingness of the individual citizen to forego his individual rights for the larger good of the community. The question is not: Are the Laws good enough for the citizens? The real question is: Are the citizens good enough for the laws?

I think that the supreme method of creating public opinion is in the schools of the country; I come back to that every time. We must teach our boys and girls the meaning of nationalism—a sane, true, divinely-appointed nationalism; not a selfish thing, but a thing that contributes to the Empire and finds itself in the Empire, and contributes through the Empire, beyond the bounds of the Empire, to the well being of the human race,—education, education, and again education.

And then I regard a Club like this—and I come back to the point from whence I started — as being of tremendous value. Here you give your speakers the platform; here you have the men prepared to listen, to sift, to test, and then inevitably the thought will take to itself wings and begin to embody itself in an institution.

When Matthew Arnold was in the United States he was invited to address the Authors' Club. Now, Matthew Arnold was a brilliant writer, a great teacher, but a mighty poor speaker; he had no ability to say upon a public platform what he wished to say. He reminded me of a great friend of mine, a great professor, a great scholar and a great saint, whose delivery in the pulpit was shocking. He had been preaching in Leeds one morning, and two members of his congregation were heard discussing the sermon when leaving the church; and one Yorkshireman said to the other, "Mind you, it was mighty fine water, but it was a rotten pump." So Matthew Arnold had a great message which he delivered through his books, but he had an awful time when they invited him to speak over here. He made a confession that was not without its pathetic side; he said, "You know, gentlemen, the public does not comprehend what I am trying to say at all, and indeed if it did I don't think it would entirely approve of me." My opportunity has come through you; you have conveyed my message, and I am grateful to you for your generosity. I suppose that what has appealed to you here would appeal to Gil Blas, who speaks of *le cœur du métier*—the heart in the business. That was it; his heart was in the business. And, gentlemen, that is the word that I would leave with you today—*le cœur du métier*—put your heart in the business. Give the opportunity to the man who thinks and speaks, and thus help to fashion in our great Dominion, and within our beloved Empire, a public opinion that will make progress inevitable, so that we shall march forward together,—

On to the bounds of the waste,
On to the city of God.

The President expressed the thanks of the Club to the Speaker.

PHASES OF DEMOCRACY SINCE THE WAR

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR ADAM SHORTT, C.M.G., LL.D.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, January 28, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR SHORTT

Mr. President, and Gentlemen,—My subject is large, and I should have been a good deal happier in dealing with some definite section of it, rather than the whole; but I find that there is constant danger now-a-days, with so many experts and so much discussion of special and individual subjects, in failing to see the forest for the trees. I propose, therefore, to bring before you some aspects of the general forest which you may study and supplement by special knowledge of the trees which constitute the forest. While you cannot know the forest without knowing the trees, it may be possible to know the trees without knowing the forest.

Students of history know that at certain periods, and often over long periods, certain problems of government and practical life seem to be definitely and finally settled, and that it is useless and uninteresting to discuss the fundamentals of those problems as it would be to discuss the features of the multiplication table.

In the Anglo-Saxon World we have been accustomed to regard the fundamentals of self-government and democracy as so well settled and finally determined that it is a work of supererogation to get up and discuss them; yet I find no period in the world's history in which practically every phase of that subject is more completely in the melting-pot than it is today, taking the world around.

Some years ago, in discussing tariff problems in America with the late Sir Robert Giffen, the great English authority on economic and tariff matters in London, I incidentally remarked to him, "You people over here have the advantage of having settled your policy and trade conditions so completely that you do not need to worry about these questions of tariff." He smiled and said, "My dear man, as to the past, that is perfectly true; but it is one of the chief dangers of our British system. In the old days—the forties and earlier—the tariff question was discussed so constantly and threshed out so thoroughly that everybody of that generation needed to know all about it; but the new generation has grown up, who never had to face the problems of tariffs, hence you will find no community the world round so hopelessly ignorant on tariff questions as the British people." He then made a prediction, which was amply fulfilled within about three years from that time. He said, "If some really able and convincing speaker should take it into his head that the tariff system of Britain could be revised, and protection in some form or other brought in, I have not the slightest doubt that such a man might be able to sweep this country on that very subject." At that time Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was one of the most thorough free-traders in the Gladstone circle, but it was he who opposed all the British notions that were then so firmly rooted on tariff questions.

On the question of democracy we have had the same attitude, and yet here we are, with the world all upside-down on the subject, and millions of people in the world around whose active life, whose misery and happiness, depend on the practical solution of questions of self-government today.

Many of my friends, newspaper writers and so on, in whom I have great confidence, are attacking the problem from the point of view of the statement of the late President Wilson which obtained world-wide publicity—that the principle of self-determination was incidental to every normal specimen of humanity. That declaration started the ball rolling. President

Wilson might have made that comparatively harmless generalization a thousand times and it would scarcely have got into the newspaper the next morning; but it came at the psychological moment during the World War, when everything was upset and questions were arising, and people who had been merely voices in the wilderness advocating Socialism, Anarchy, and all such things, suddenly found that their doctrine was being accepted and discussed by myriads of people, instead of by isolated individuals.

And now we have the educated element of the Philippines and other minor dependencies of the United States, of India and other dependencies of Britain, of the Asiatic peoples all through the regions between India and the centre of China, and even people in Morocco, Tangiers and all through the old Turkish Empire, Egypt, etc.,—all discussing their heaven-born inalienable right of self-determination as the basis of a claim to democratic institutions the world around.

But there is another manifestation, because this period of study, of unrest, of readiness to face any new proposition, does not confine itself to extending the notion of self-determination to peoples who were never supposed to have been interested in that subject before. On the other side of the question we find people who have tried that system for years—Italy, for example,—taking the back track, saying, "It is a failure; we cannot run democratic institutions; our people are not suited to self-determination," and going back to despotism, autocratic government, with methods unauthorized from the point of view of the general vote.

Moreover—one says this with a good deal of reserve, but still it must be confessed—I personally feel that I should not be entitled to be surprised if France should pass under a similar autocracy within a comparatively limited time. Within the last day or two you will have noticed that our friend Hindenburg stated that that is the alternative in Germany unless the various elements into which the representatives of the country have split up can get together and frame some stable government. Then our friends in Russia have, within ten years or so, completed the whole circuit, passing from the autocracy of the Czar and his government, and through the most absolute expressions—at least on paper—of self-government and self-determination, around to another form as absolute in autocracy, as cruel, as destructive as any Czarist government ever was.

Now, what does all this signify? I now begin to criticize. I find that we had for a long time accepted the truth that democracy was something that could only be operated by the most highly developed peoples in the point of intellect, education, and so on, and that that was why a limited element of western Europe, the British Empire, we will say, and the United States, could run democracy; it was intellectual superiority. Then a good many people linked that up with the question of colour, contending that the coloured races could not run democracy. These expressions carried with them a slur on the other peoples, and a good deal of the propaganda which they have been putting forth has been directed against those two assertions as to inferiority of intellectual endowment and the colour line.

From the time I started out to investigate conditions of government the world round, I have been indebted to old Greek literature more than to anything, and particularly to Aristotle,—in my estimation the greatest political analyst and philosopher of all time. As far back as his period he analyzed a situation such as is ours today, and he brought forth the most fertile and thorough-going analysis. He was a Greek, and he was speaking for the Greeks, and analyzing concrete Greek experience, and yet the solemn fact which he most recognized was that the Greek people could not run a democracy—a fact which was perfectly obvious. But has anyone a right to say that the Greeks could not run a democracy because of their intellectual inferiority? Obviously not. So if you take that position and apply it all round, you will soon discover that intellectual superiority does not signify capacity to run a democracy and intellectual inferiority does not imply that such a people cannot run a democracy.

What is British democracy? We think we know what it is, but if you spend fifteen or twenty minutes trying to define it you will find how completely you are at sea. What is British democracy?—or Anglo-Saxon, to bring in our American friends with us? Obviously it is not a universal self-determination. Obviously it is not that every citizen thoroughly works out for himself the practical problems of his government and comes to definite conclusions as to what is to be done, and then goes to the polls with punctilious regularity and uniformity and absolutism, and records his views on those subjects, and that the people who come to the Parliaments—whether in England, Canada, the United States, or any part of the Empire, or anywhere else—are thorough-going representatives of the public opinion of that country. That is all rubbish.

The fundamental factor is this—that many of the best intellects in our country do not go to the polls at all, and they take very little interest in the discussion of the most vital questions that come up in our government for settlement. Yet if you told those people that the right of vote was to be determined by their practice, and that they were all to be disfranchised, you would have a revolution the next day. It is not that people actually exercise their rights on self-determination; it is simply that they have the abstract right to do so, and if you take away that abstract right they go into a flame of revolutionary determination; whereas if you tell them thay have the right all the time, they never exercise it.

If you extend that round the world you get certain very peculiar propositions. For example, a man may be recognized as the finest artist in the community, as a painter, sculptor, musician, or literary man, even the man who produces the "best seller"—though I will not vouch for his intellectual superiority,—but how many of you would agree, on the basis of that man's exceptional ability, high rank and high quality, to entrust your business to him, or go to him for advice on settling any one of the big practical problems of government in our country? You know very well that he is the last man you would go to; therefore intellectual superiority does not carry with it the necessity of being the best representative, politically, of the people. The reverse is equally so; you cannot say that an inferior man is any better. All you can say is that in the long run, and from time to time, selections are such that when they go to parliament you are not altogether uplifted about their general average, or their transcendent quality, but they do very well, and if not, they will have to be shoved out; that is all. So you get a practice—and that is all that our democracy means, if you theorize about it. It is a practice awfully difficult to follow; but, as they used to say about some metaphysical problems put up in the Middle Ages, *solvatur ambulando*—you can settle it if you walk around.

Now, what I maintain is that there are certain peoples, who are either Anglo-Saxons or immediately associated with them in race, who have this peculiar progressive element in them—not in all the people, but in the average —and that the progressive are checked before going too far. Their progressive movement is a stable movement, and changes take place regularly and in decent time, and they allow experience to determine things. That peculiar quality is not the result of reasoning, or of any theory, but it is what stabilizes and makes possible practical development in government, namely democracy which really has been expanded and represented, and works in an Anglo-Saxon circle, and nowhere else.

I am a Scotchman, and have a fairly good opinion of Scotchmen, and of what they have done in the world; but will you point to me in history any people that are more frightfully melancholy and impossible in its records than the Scotch and the history of Scotland before it became amalgamated with England? There are brains for you; but it cannot run itself,—chiefly, because you had two big elements, the Celt and the

Norman; no Anglo-Saxons there of any consequence but the Celts, or Highlanders, and the Normans, or Lowlanders. The Normans included all the north of England, because they all came in from the North Sea; and the same stock is found in Devon and Cornwall, and on the coasts of France—the Downs, chiefly, and a certain number inland. It is a very successful stock, but it took that peculiar quality that was dominant in England to undertake the government for those people, who were then naked, half-clad, half-fed Highlanders, and raise them from the condition of absolute impecuniosity to be leaders in the professions and the intellectual spheres all up and down the world. They had to live—on another element, and they have done it; but it was the other element that furnished the stability and the democracy.

I have talked with many people, and have read their books. When I was at Edinburgh University at least a third of the undergraduates came from every corner of the world—from India, China, Japan, and various parts of Africa. I sat side by side in the biology section with as black a negro as I ever saw in my life, who had come from the centre of Africa. When I asked how he got there he replied that there was a missionary there—a Scotch missionary, of course—and he was sent down to the Gold Coast where he was educated, and then sent to the university. It was from a study of the characteristics of various peoples that I first got my ideas of the possiblity of government by them in their own countries, and the more I studied the matter the more I came to the conclusion that taking the general average of say the people from India they have as good an intellect as the average in England, and those from China, a little higher than the average, and so with many others. But it does not follow, because a people have ability to write splendid articles, such as I have been reading for the last two or three years, on self-government, that they are right in stating that the Philippino struggle for self-government should be admitted as exactly the same as the American struggle for self-government against Britain.

The trouble is that newspapermen and magazine writers in Britain and other self-governing countries assume that these people are all right in making that statement; that it is something that goes around all humanity, and therefore they get terribly alarmed when Italy suddenly discovers that the system will not work there, and that they have to revert to autocracy. They say, "That is terrible, because if Italy has to go back to autocracy, so must we in time." So American and British editors are terribly concerned with this Italian experiment. All I say is that if you would go to work and discover the characteristics of that country you would find, I am thoroughly convinced, that the present Italian system is the only one that will run Italy. But I would be terribly concerned if I thought that, in consequence of that conviction, it would be the system that was desirable in England.

The Russian system I find thoroughly reasonable. The Russians are the most unstable of all people in criticising their government, whether Czarist or any other, and they are most ineffective in doing it. They will sit down just as calmly under the present unspeakable despotism as they used to do under the practically equally unspeakable system of despotism. A few of them get up and assert themselves, and if the Czarist system is in power they go to Siberia, and if the present system is in line they go off to Siberia in greater numbers. It is a fundamental characteristic.

I will not bother to discuss the colour problem on the same line, but it is a similar proposition. We have no right whatever to say that because people cannot run our form of democracy, and have to revert to a unifying autocracy, they are therefore inferior, either by colour or by anything else; but I will admit that there are races that happen to be coloured that are not very capable of any kind of government.

That being so, the question of the future of government is a question of the future capacity of various people to hold together. We have that peculiar balance between unrest and progress and conservatism and stability which is the anomaly of the British people, and therefore is not—and I think experience shows cannot be—applicable to all the other races in the world. We may therefore say that democracy is and will remain the main thing for us, but that those others sooner or later will come round to the recognition that the issues will have to be determined by autocratic rule.

Let me draw my last example from France. You saw it before the War,—and we have seen the condition greatly exaggerated since the War—the tendency to split up into little coteries, sections, and subsections, all dominated by personal self-interest, and not endowed with that consciousness that there must be a due regard for the general interest, and that your self-interest will not get anywhere in the end, except in conjunction with a reasonable association with the general interest. That explains why France is finding it impossible, in the face of most terrible inducement in their financial condition, to get a general government that will combine those forces. And so it is possible that France may have to go the way of Italy, and that when the big man comes along to stand for that abstraction, La Belle France—which is uppermost in theory and sentiment with nearly every Frenchman, but which very few Frenchmen seem to be able to identify with the practical experiences of life—they will go ahead if they can get somebody like Napoleon to embody that sentiment.

Then I have great hopes for our friends in Germany, but you see the same tendency there to follow the special interest and to let somebody else look after the general interest.

In England, in the United States, in Canada and various other parts of the Empire, what do we find? We find the same tendency to develop local specialized self-interests, and thereby to start a new group or a new party. In the end they do not persist. Once they get beyond the presentation of their own sectional interest and are asked to take the larger interest—if they happen to get the power—they go to pieces; if they do not get to power they dwindle out. So in this country, and in the United States, and everywhere in the Anglo-Saxon circle, we have the process of starting new sectional parties, and then they are gradually going out and coming back to the stability of two or possibly three parties for the time being. But they do not work well. The only system that works well is a definite recognition that the government must be carried on by one party with a majority. That is a phase of our existence, and I hope that it will always remain so.

Let me emphasize again that it is not a question of intellectual superiority, or of colour: it is a question of psychological characteristics of race. So you must face and work out for yourselves what is likely to be the outcome of all this upsetting, this furore for self-government, and all that, that is going around the world, and the furore for a reaction against it. What is to come of it? There is no use of anybody predicting, because you can predict only on reason, but you will find that most of those people will be talking something which is not reason, and so there is no use speculating on it; you have only to sit up and look out and see and wonder how it will come out, and how many millions of people will be distressed or die in the process. The ancient civilizations are all gone. They lasted longer than ours, and when you read their writers you realize that they thought the same sort of thing about their stability and their instability, and the natural consequence of what must happen. Aristotle predicted what did happen, and out they went, and came under some other jurisdiction. There is no system, there is no guarantee that any given experiment or anything of the kind, must in the end be successful. No. If you can manage it, well and good; if you cannot manage it, out you go.

PROFESSOR JACKMAN, Professor of Political Economy in the Toronto University, expressed the thanks of the Club to the speaker.

LIFE AND CUSTOMS OF RURAL ENGLAND

AN ADDRESS BY PHILIP J. TURNER, F.R.I.B.A.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, Feb. 4, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

MR. TURNER

It is not for nothing that England is known far and wide as the Homeland, the land of peaceful prospects and little homes. Through all the ages England has been the inspiration of her children, the shrine before which they have never ceased to offer up the incense of love and devotion and praise.

What is the magic that holds the hearts of her countrymen so fast that her plainest and most unprepossessing corner is of more worth to him who was born there than the fairest and most fertile spot in all the world?

Ask the exile working in some far corner of the world what it is that makes him labour so hard that he may return to end his days amidst scenes of his youth, and though the answer may be halting and involved its meaning is plain—it is because there is a homeliness and peace about the English countryside that is not to be found elsewhere. It is not of the great city that he speaks, or for the excitements of the town that he longs, but for the peace and freshness of the country The soul of England must not be sought in the city, but in the countryside; the city is the working place, the prison in which Englishmen toil to earn their freedom; it is only the beloved abiding-place of the few; the many yearn for a cottage and a plot of ground where the wind blows pure and the heavens are not masked by a pall of gloom. It is the country that has made England and all that of which her name is a symbol. From her manor houses and little cottages came forth the men who made her great, the men who gave their lives to an ideal and fought to free her from oppression. The marks of her native genius are in the country rather than in the towns, for to the towns came the foreigner, bringing influence which affected habits and customs and methods, but made little or no impression on the humble people who stamped their individuality upon the countryside for all to see. It was the toil of countless countrymen through the ages that laid the foundation of the towns of England, and it is the country that teaches us that England was built up by generations of unknown workers. Of no land can it be said with greater truth that the humble people made her great, and the countryside as we know it today is the outcome of their activities and their lives. It is to them that we owe the ordered homeliness and air of peaceful settlement that is perhaps its greatest charm.

Changes in English village life have been so rapid in recent years that customs and institutions of even a decade ago are no longer familiar. Everywhere one sees the old giving way to new. The whole face of England is being rapidly altered, and this is far more noticeable in the country districts than in towns. So many old landmarks are being swept away that it seems time to call a halt, and at least to take a survey of them before the old is banished by the new. During most of the 19th century the country seemed to stagnate, but now, owing to the ease of communication, a change has been brought about owing to the desire of people to see the country, and the conveniences for doing so with the motor car and the excellent roads.

The individuality and fitness for use of most things in the country makes rural England greatly attractive, especially to those who return to it after long absence. Everything fits in its setting so naturally and so quietly that its very harmony calls attention to the concord that exists between the arrangement of nature and the work of men's hands. The little gardens before the cottage doors seem as natural and as much in place as the riot of wild blossoms at the hedge-foot. The old cottages and small farms, mellowed by age and weather, are in such perfect keeping with their environment that they might be a growth of Nature rather than the handiwork of man. The reason is not far to seek. In the day they were built every district was self-supporting, except in rare instances, and material that lay ready to hand was used. and the style was dictated by tradition and experience.

In stone countries the builders went out and quarried their own stone; where stone is rare and wood abounding the cottages are of timber framing filled with wattle-and-daub or brick. Thus it is that the dwellings of the country are actually part of the soil on which they stand, and there are no harsh contrasts, no staring dissimilarities, but each melts imperceptibly into the other with the lapse of time.

If we would understand the soul of England, we must wander far in the high-ways and by-ways of the countryside. As Washington Irving wrote a century ago: "The stranger who would form a correct opinion of the English character must not confine his observations to the Metropolis. He must go forth into the country; he must sojourn in villages and hamlets; he must visit castles, villas, farm houses and cottages; he must wander through parks and gardens, along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend wakes and fairs, and other rural festivals, and cope with the people in all their conditions, and all their habits and humours." These words remain true today, though written one hundred years ago.

In the past the country was England. Population was more evenly distributed, and there was no great difference between the agricultural and industrial districts as there is today. It is only a century ago that those living in the country outnumbered those dwelling in the towns; in 1851 they were about equally divided, whereas now the country accounts for only about 20%. In 1872 there were 24,000,000 acres being farmed, whereas now it has decreased to something like 19,000,000 acres. In the last thirty years the percentage of people in the country has fallen 7%, from 28% to 21% of the population.

The chief hope for the future lies in the fact that love of country is ingrained in the English race, that a country life is the best the world can offer, that eventual retirement to a cottage is the flame that keeps ambition alive in the hearts of thousands of tired workers. The countryman is the type of the English race. The sturdy patriotism, local and insular, the independence that goes its own way because it is convinced it is doing the proper thing, the self-sufficiency that does not worry about the applause of others if itself be satisfied, the strong sense of duty, the diffidence and inarticulateness, all outstanding features of the typical Englishman, are perhaps more evident in the country than in the towns where intercourse with foreigners and the stress of competition have naturally influenced character. And just as the Englishman's diffidence and lack of self-expression have made him misunderstood abroad, these qualities are mainly answerable for that gulf which separates city and country. The foreigner girds at Englishmen for their irregularity and their peculiar ways, and the townsman speaks very similarly of the dweller in rural parts.

To understand the countryman and his life, and to sympathise with his difficulties, it is above all necessary to remember that the most marked characteristic of England is her infinite variety. Not only the people themselves, but the conditions of life, methods of work, industries, customs and climate differ from county to county, almost from parish to parish. Not only do different districts have different breeds of domestic animals, but their harness and trappings are not the same, even the build of their carts and waggons, the very colours in which they are painted, follow local custom. In fact the diversities of rural England are endless. Much has been written on the different features of the countryside, and on its sport and natural history, but comparatively little attention has been devoted to the countryman and his round of work and leisure.

After a period of neglect the War has taught the nation the essential preeminence of the labours of those who till the soil, and country life is undoubtedly regaining some of the importance and interest it deserves, which it should never have lost. Even though the present is one of rapid and widespread transition, and the position is again acute in its depression and difficulty, the awakening movement will continue. The neglect of the countryside by politicians is proverbial and often the countryman is made the butt of flippant pleasantries. In the War, however, it was realized how important a part the farmer plays in the country's welfare, for when necessity arose he it was who did so much to save the country from starvation by increasing the production of crops under the most trying circumstances, and under the most difficult conditions, due to the fact that all able-bodied men had been called to the colours.

Just now the country is in a state of flux, and those who know it best are least inclined to predict the future. The sale of large estates, the decay of villages, the demand for higher wages, easier conditions and more houses have been witnessed before. Acts of Parliament have been passed to prevent farm being added to farm, or ploughland being turned to pasture, and to authorize the building of cottages with a decent plot of land attached. The causes and results of these may be studied with advantage if we are to turn the present awakening to account. Let us remember that life in the country has always been largely self-contained, and though it is often said contemptuously that people exist by taking in each other's washing, such mutual support leads to independence and usually a modest competence, and so contentment, unless, conditions being too hard, life becomes a never-ending struggle for mere subsistence.

Recent legislation and taxation have had a harmful effect on rural England. The hereditary landowning class which enabled the country to weather many a storm is being crushed out. Land and estate sales have multiplied during the past few years, bringing fresh difficulties and reducing the demand for labour. New faces everywhere, on estate and in village, mainly people out of touch with country life, who have served no apprenticeship to their duties and responsibilities. Farmers anxious to retain their holdings bought at the top of the boom now find that mortgage holders are not so accommodating as the land owner, who would postpone taking his rent until better times, and in some cases reduced it. Repairs and upkeep are expensive, and high costs have sadly interfered with the reconstruction so fondly expected, and proved the last straw that broke the back of many an over-burdened country gentleman. So every week one hears of estates being broken up, and if unpurchased, partly closed because their owners cannot maintain them properly. And yet, history teaches us how much the prosperity of a nation is built upon the welfare of the rural community, and therefore it is hoped that the future of the dwellers in the country may be improved. The country is more than a sporting ground for the wealthy, a place for a pleasant holiday; being constantly in touch with realties it has a stabilising effect in these days of unrest and vague longings, it keeps alive the traditions of the nation, and maintains the rugged strength which has made it great. Its ever-varying tasks preserve individuality, and are so inter-dependent that they form a bond that unites the interests of one to another and show that each is necessary to the common weal.

The cities and great towns of England may be her brain, but the country is her soul. Allow the intellect to enslave the soul and you have cleverness without depth or humanity, and when the prolonged crisis arrives the lack of faith and unity brings inevitable collapse. Both acting in unison create the spirit which commands the world, whatever the circumstances.

Premier Baldwin at St. George's Society said:

"To me England is the country and the country is England. The tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake in the dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill, the wild anemones in the woods in April, the last load of hay being drawn down the lane as twilight comes, and the smell of wood-smoke coming up in an autumn evening—so England comes to me when I am abroad."

(The lecturer then showed over fifty beautiful slides representing country homes, famous inns and churches, village greens, farmhouse kitchens, water-mills, morris dancers, rural occupations such as sheepshearing and dipping, the village blacksmith, wheelwright, making chairs from rushes, thatching, etc.)

The PRESIDENT expressed the thanks and appreciation of the Club to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive talk and beautiful views.

CERTAIN PHASES OF THE EMPIRE

ADDRESS BY THE IMPERIAL DEBATERS, REPRESENTING FOUR GREAT BRITISH UNIVERSITIES—MESSRS. R. NUNN-MAY, T. P. McDONALD, A. H. MOLSON AND PAUL REED.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
Thursday, February 11, 1926.

VICE-PRESIDENT COL. ALEX. FRASER introduced the Speakers;

MR. A. H. MOLSON, New College, Oxford, President of the Oxford Union, the Oxford Carleton Club and Conservative Association, said:—I have frequently gone out of England just a very few hours' journey to France or Italy, and I found myself abroad. I have now come some 4,500 miles out to Canada, and I find myself still at home. It really is one of the strangest and most inspiring things an Englishman can experience that although he can travel just a little way abroad and find people with a different outlook, different institutions, different ideals and ideas, he can go out into some of the great countries of the world, far more extensive than the whole of Europe, and find that there the British language, British ideals and British institutions have taken strong root and are building up the great civilization of the future.

I regard this as a very great privilege, to address the Empire Club. I could quite easily talk about those things which are very easy to talk about—our common race, our common law, our common language and our common traditions; but I wish, if I may, to refer to a subject which I think is of far greater importance and of far greater difficulty; that is the question of the foreign relations of the Empire.

It is no good to adopt the policy of supposing that if we do not take thought on those things all will go well.

The development of the British Empire has resulted in the appearance of a problem which no country in the world has ever had to face before, and which sooner or later the British Empire will be face to face with; and the easy optimism which puts off facing difficulties until they appear may cost us dear in the future if we do not now, when it is not indeed a burning question, try to realise along what lines development is taking place, and seeing to what it leads.

I do not propose making any suggestions. I am not going to suggest any particular scheme of organization for the Empire. I am only going to try and point out what the tendencies in the past have been, and particularly during the last six years since the War.

I think I may say that, so far as the Mother Country is concerned, the whole question of the future organization so far as the foreign policy of the Empire is concerned, is going to be left entirely in the hands of the Dominions. I saw the other day that an official of the Colonial Office had declared that if the Dominions were of the opinion that it would be in their interests for the constitution of the Empire to be modified as to international laws so that the Mother Country could go to war while they remained neutral, that the Mother Country would have no objection. I think that was a very wise thing for that official of the Colonial Office to say.

Originally the Dominions had no desire to take part, in consultation with foreign countries, with regard to the making of treaties. As far back as the eighties, Sir Charles Tupper, that great statesman that Canada contributed to the last century, was the plenipotentiary of the British Empire for concluding a treaty with the United States of America. Now, that was a treaty which only concerned Canada, which was proposed to be concluded with the United States for the benefit of Canada; but because the British Empire was one political whole the entire British Empire was to be bound by that treaty.

In 1918, at the Imperial Conference, the principle was laid down and agreed to by the representatives of each one of the separate countries which go to make up the British Commonwealth of Nations, that in future any individual member of that Commonwealth might conclude a treaty provided that treaty concerned that one dominion alone, and that treaty should not be binding upon the rest of the Empire. For purely sentimental reasons I imagine that one would slightly regret that such a step had to be made, but after all you cannot keep the Empire going on sentiment, and I think that owing to the great development that has taken place it was necessary that that step forward should be made, and all one has to do is to face quite frankly the results which may follow from that, and then try to work out the result. Unfortunately, the effect, while taking advantage of any benefits that that system may be expected to confer, will be felt on the Empire as a whole and not merely on one Dominion that may have concluded that treaty.

At the Peace Conference in Paris there was a British Empire Delegation, and there was some difficulty about how it could be arranged that every one of the dominions should be represented upon that Empire Delegation. As you all know, a compromise was reached upon the panel system, that is, that a representative of each Dominion was present always as an observer, but they took it in turns to be an official delegate of the British Empire, and only the representatives of the Mother Country were permanent representatives. Now, we in England all very much regret that at the treaty of Lausanne that precedent was not followed. I think undoubtedly that was a mistake. There were reasons for the mistake; there was hurry, there was difficulty in obtaining representatives from the dominions, there was need for facing the task at that time in Lausanne of carrying through the agreement as soon as possible; there were many exceptional circumstances, yet the precedent then established was greatly to be regretted.

Speaking for myself, I think that is a comparative trifle compared with the step that has been taken by the Mother Country at Locarno. In my opinion, Locarno is, or may be, a turning point in the history of the foreign relation of the British Empire. Great Britain is at the same time an European power, and an imperial power, and it is very difficult indeed for the Mother Country to realize exactly how to reconcile her obligations to Europe and her obligations to the Empire. I think one may say that at Locarno Great Britain did serve the highest interests of Europe, and did a great deal to make possible the pacification of Europe, to do away with the hatred and the suspicion which are the aftermather of the War; and I think that Europe is under very great obligations to us.

I am not so sure that the British Dominions are under any obligations to us. It is the first time in history that the Mother Country has adopted a foreign policy which it is very probable most of the Dominions will be unable to follow. At that time there was merely consultation, so far as one can find out; merely consultation by cable with the Dominion Governments and with the High Commissioners in London; and that treaty which is of the very greatest importance for Europe was arrived at, and contains this clause, that the British Dominions should not be bound unless they consented.

Now, that is a very radical departure from precedent. It may be—I do not know—that one or two of the Dominions will agree to undertake the obligations, the very heavy obligations, which the Mother Country has undertaken at Locarno, but in the case of one Dominion, South Africa in particular, it seems to me very unlikely indeed that it will undertake those responsibilities; and I cannot find it in my heart to blame that Dominion. What Canada's policy will be I do not know, but I do fully understand the argument of people in the Dominions, many of them, who ask how are they concerned, in what way can they possible be concerned with some dispute which may break out between France and Germany. In the long run I think they will be concerned, for after all, the history of the last war shows that even the United States of America was concerned in the assassination which took place in the Balkans, and what materialized from that new country with which they had no relations except purely formal diplomatic relations; and sooner or later they were involved. On the other hand, Canada enjoys an advantage, as all the Dominions do, which the Mother Country does not possess, but which now the Mother Country very much envies, that is, of being a long distance from Europe—and I am not at all sure that the Dominions would necessarily be wise—it is not for me to express an opinion upon this—at least it is conceivable that a Dominion might be wise in refusing to adhere to the Locarno agreement.

Consider for one moment what the result of that is going to be. The touchstone of all international relationships is war, and the Locarno agreement is based upon this principle—that whichever country within a certain area of Western Europe is an aggressor will find Great Britain opposed to her and supporting the country that has been attacked. That means to say that we are to envisage the possibility of going to war, and under the Locarno agreement the Dominions are not to be in it unless they adhere to that agreement.

Imagine, for one moment, that France attacks Germany, or Germany attacks France. In that case Great Britain is under obligation of honour to go to war. Now, as a point of international law is it conceivable that His Majesty the King, as King of England, can be at war, and as King of the British Dominions beyond the seas can be neutral? Consider all the results that follow from that. If a British man-of-war put into a Dominion port the Dominion would be under obligation to intern that man-of-war. The Dominion would be under obligation, in international law, to prevent its subjects from enlisting in the British Army. If Great Britain found it necessary, as she most certainly would, to exercise a blockade upon France or Germany, you would find that complicated international questions would arise as to what particular forms of merchandise might be exported by Canada or by Australia to the country with which Great Britain was at war. There are a great many difficult legal questions which probably would have to be settled by some international tribunal. I suppose it is just conceivable that one might go on saying that the British Empire still existed, but for myself I do not think that the British Empire would have any meaning in those circumstances. But after all, you may say that to treat this question merely from the juristic point of view is to form an outlook which has nothing to do with actual political life, with events as they would turn out when that actual crisis arose. But I believe that the difficulties which arise, looking at it simply from the legal point of view, indicate a very profound difficulty which also arises when you look at it from the political point of view.

Consider for one moment. You have Great Britain, which as I have said is a European power, a manufacturing power, a small island with a large population dependant entirely for its support upon manufacturing and exchange. You have Canada, whose foreign policy must always be dominated by the need of friendly relations with the United States of America. You have Australia, whose foreign policy must always be dominated by fear of Asiatic immigration. You have South Africa, whose whole policy must always be dominated by the fear which arises from its peculiar position as a community of 1,500,000 white people in a great continent of 100,000,000 black people. You have New Zealand, which in one way is in a peculiar position because so far removed that it really has no foreign policy of its own at all. For that reason it is not a question of greater loyalty or sentiment, but just for political and geographical reasons New Zealand to-day is more prepared than any other dominion to follow wherever Great Britain may lead in the field of foreign policy.

Now, where you have six nations joined in a partnership, living in different parts of the world, in different circumstances, with different economic conditions and in different geographical situations, it is very nearly impossible that there could be a common foreign policy; and as things are to-day with international law—which, after all, is a very important question, as the British Empire is considered by the foreign countries of the world—you have the British Empire in the position of a boy of perhaps 18 who is still trying to wear the clothes that he wore when he was 8. The situation is apt to be grave, from the danger that the clothes will burst in certain parts—although, as long as he keeps quite still, and does not bend his knees or his elbows, it is quite possible that the old and threadbare material may remain unbroken; but in any moment when that movement takes place, when some crisis arises, it is very important that we should all have thought out these problems as they are before us and as they threaten at any moment to appear in all their nakedness, and that we should have our own ideas as to how we shall find a solution for those difficulties.

There is no single instance which shows more clearly the great change which has recently come over the constitution of this Empire than the difference between the position of Canada in the eyes of their friends and the position of Canada in the eyes of the League of Nations. Even to-day, as the situation is, all the foreign relations of the Dominion are conducted through the British Foreign Office, and I think that is really a perfectly reasonable and sensible arrangement. The Mother Country has to have a different method, and a consular service all through the world would be an incredible waste of money that would result from there being Canadian embassies and Australian embassies and New Zealand and South African embassies and others, in all the countries of the world. I think this is quite sufficient reason to explain why all foreign relations are carried on through the British Foreign Office, which, so far as I can learn, has proven quite a satisfactory instrument for the Dominion.

Of course the people actually control the policy which the cabinet ministers of the different Dominions work through the skilled instruments which the mother country has had to send out into those foreign countries, and they are quite useful instruments for doing also the work that they are asked to do by the various Dominion Governments. But as regards the League of Nations it is entirely otherwise. There the Dominions are nations in the full sense of the word, not only independent of the Mother Country, but it has frequently happened that their policy has been in opposition to that of the Mother Country. An occasion occurs to me when both Canada and South Africa voted against the policy of the Mother Country in the admission of Albania to the League of Nations. I think that in that case Canada and South Africa were right and the Mother Country was wrong, but that was a mere detail; the point is that as things are now in the Assembly of the League of Nations you have different representatives of the different members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and their policy to-day is by no means a common one.

So it is that I take advantage of the privilege you have accorded me of addressing the Empire Club to draw attention to these very great difficulties which do confront the British Empire at the present time, and to ask you to consider those difficulties not only from the political but also from the juristic point of view. I may say quite frankly that I do not see any solution of those difficulties unless it be found in that particular genius for compromise which has always distinguished the British race. The British Constitution, which grew up in the Mother Country and which has been worked out with so much success in the Dominions is a most illogical, a most absurd, a most ridiculous arrangement; but yet it continues to work, and so it may well be that this absurd, ridiculous and illogical Empire of ours may be here, doing good to the world at large and to its constituant members, long after all the logical federations and unions of the world have disappeared.

MR. McDONALD said:—I think it is a very great privilege for us, as we pass through the Dominion of Canada, to meet with the men who have in their hands the destinies of this great Dominion. As a humble and ignorant student from the Old Country I may be able to say something of importance for the future prosperity and unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I think it is essential that we should not rely solely upon the continuing forces of our common heritage and tradition; that we should not take for granted that we shall always have the same strong uniting bonds which now exist between the Dominions and the Mother Country; but that we should do everything in our power to create among the younger generation knowledge and understanding of history and geography of the Empire as a whole, so that on that basis of information and knowledge the young citizens may retain the same feeling of sentimental attachment which is so evident to us in every part of Canada through which we pass. It is unfortunate that in our schools and universities there is no system of Empire education, no definite and regular course of study on Imperial development and the present constitutional and political position of the British Commonwealth. I think the system of Rhodes Scholarships has been of greater value not only to Canada and other Dominions but to the Mother Country than almost any other specific gift or endowment which has been made. But these scholarships act only in one way, and there is no fund whereby young men and women from the Old Country can be sent to the Universities of the Dominions. That would be a very valuable extension of the scheme. Although I have not visited all the universities in Great Britain, I have seldom seen such complete equipment in chemical and physics laboratories and other university departments as I have seen during my visits to Canadian universities.

I think it would be a good thing if we returned to the educational ideal which found expression in the Middle Ages, when it was considered essential for a young man, before settling down to his life's career, to travel among the universities of the Continent. It was essential for young men who were to practice law at the Scottish bar to spend one year in study in the universities of the

Low Country and Italy, Utrecht and Bologna. But I think it is a far better thing that I should be visiting the great Dominions, not only of Canada, but of New Zealand and Australia, and endeavouring to understand the point of view and the culture and system of the universities and of the people of the Dominion. When we return to the Old Country we shall be able to tell our friends all we have seen and heard and learned of the great Commonwealth of Nations, and thus I hope the bonds which have united us, and which have to a certain extent been dependent upon the continuing strength of our common heritage, will be strengthened again and again by the real understanding and knowledge of the problems, the people, the geography, and the conditions of development of each constituent.

MR. NUNN-MAY said:—The Chairman tells me that the object of these meetings is to have educational addresses for business men of this city. There must have been a rumor proceeding us that we were very wise and able people, that we should have been called upon to give men of your age an intelligent and educational address,—but I feel like the spinster who was congratulated on her marriage engagement, her friends hoping it was true; to which she replied, "No, it is not true, but thank God for the rumour."

One of the things that has impressed me greatly is the enormous and almost inconceivable natural resources you have here, both in your land and minerals. As a mineralogist I congratulate you upon the enormous wealth as being opened up in the north part of this Province and of the Province of Quebec. Your mining experts tell me that there is every promise that the veins of ore which have been discovered will prove to be of great value and importance. Already I believe Canada is the second gold-producing country in the world, and I am sure it will not be very long before she is far and away beyond the first.

I do not believe that Canada has yet begun to develop.

I have heard people asking why this country has not developed to the extent of the United States. One very obvious reason is that at the period when the United States was increasing in prosperity at an enormous speed, Canada was being crippled and hindered by expenditure of her manhood and wealth, in the years 1914 to 1918; but I believe that great expenditure has been repaid by the increase in the feelings of fellowship and sympathy between Canada and the home country. It is a remarkable fact that the war which was designed partly to break up the British Empire has resulted in binding together all the Dominions more closely to the Mother Country. Some people in Canada are crying out for more population as the great need. While there is a great truth in that, you must be content to develop slowly and carefully, because there are great difficulties in the matter of immigration. The very best type of immigrant is the one that cannot be spared from his own country. It cannot be expected that men brought up to factory life can walk into this country and make a success on the land. There should be a policy of training men for agriculture work, and trained men from the farms in other countries should be secured whenever possible. I shall carry back with me the most pleasant recollection of my visit to Canada.

MR. REED said:—It is well that we should study this Empire of ours, not merely for our own sakes, but because if we can make it a success we would render great service to the world. I think we must remember that we are engaging in an experiment, and that we have to feel our way, with no guide, and very little light from past experience. In dealing with our problems we should not look upon them as insoluble, but we should think hard on them, and should not be content to take anything for granted, but realize that our difficulties offer new problems that must be solved by new methods.

We hear a great deal of talk about the decadence of Britain—perhaps I should say of England. Of course we are facing one of the most tremendous difficulties, but our decadence has not gone quite so far as would appear by the talk in some quarters. There is an enormous volume of unemployment, yet it has not been realised that at present there are more people at work in Great Britain that there were in 1914. That remarkable fact is due partly to the increase in our population and partly to the fact that there are many more women at work than there were before the War; but the fact remains that the working and producing population of Great Britain is greater than before the War. Sometimes the idea is expressed that the Old Country is do decadent and its future is so hopeless that the Dominions would be wise to cut the painter and seek other and more profitable allegiances but I do not believe there is any truth in that idea. I think we will work out our problems in the sincerest possible way, and will find that we can make the British Empire work not only to our advantage but to that of humanity as a whole. I take it that that is the aim of all of us.

HON. VINCENT MASSEY conveyed to the speakers the hearty thanks of the Club for their addresses.

CANADIAN DIPLOMACY AND RESPONSIBILITY

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. H. A. SMITH, M.A., (Oxon)

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto
Thursday, February 18, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

PROF. SMITH

In talking to you on this subject I thought myself faced with the alternative of being rhetorical or to be charged with being dull, and I decided to take a risk of being dull, because rhetoric is generally bounded with sentimentality, and the discussion of these questions has suffered a great deal from sentimentality. On the one hand we have the sentimentality of nationalism, and on the other the sentimentality of imperialism. Both are silly; both are mischievous; and each, I think, is as silly and mischievous as the other; so you are not to expect me to rhapsodise on the national greatness of Canada on the one hand, or on the glory of the Empire on the other. Of course I do not mean that sentiment has not its proper place provided it is rationally simple and its implications are understood. At the same time I would like to say that these two sentiments—nationalism and imperialism—should not, in my mind, be placed in opposition to one another. I believe as strongly as anybody in the national greatness, the national consciousness, of Canada, and I believe at the same time that, in preserving the unity of the Empire, that nationality will find its fullest expression and its surest guarantee.

There is one more thing I have to say in my own defence. I am afraid that as I go on some of you may think that I am a little pedantic, a little lawyer-like, a little professorial, if I insist somewhat strongly upon accuracy in the use of words; but I will do so, because this discussion has suffered very much from loose and inaccurate language, and the loose and inaccurate use of technical terms. Words are important only because they indicate things, and if we are careless about our words it generally means that we are loose in our ideas about the things for which they stand.

Many centuries ago there was a famous theological controversy which turned upon two words which were only separated by one letter of the Greek alphabet; and Gibbon, the historian, poked fun at them, saying that it was perfectly ridiculous that people should work themselves up into such a state about the differences over a single letter. Well, to my mind such criticisms are very cheap, very easy, and very foolish. It is very much as if a man living in Ottawa were to say that there was only the difference of one letter between going to Hull and going to Hell. So will you forgive me if at times I seem to be a little pedantic in my insistence in the right use of words.

I am going to put what I have to say to-day in the form of two questions. First of all, how far has Canada already gone along the path of independent diplomacy? Secondly, how far are we prepared to go? The first is a question of fact; the second is a question of policy. I put them in that order because I know from experience that there is much misunderstanding about the facts; and unless we get our facts right our policy is very apt to be wrong.

Let me begin, then, by saying that the word diplomacy covers many things. It covers, in the first place, and the most obvious place, the making of treaties and other international agreements; and in the second place, and more important, it covers a vast amount of dull routine work which the newspapers tell you nothing at all. I insist upon that because, to judge from newspaper discussion—and I hope the pressmen will forgive me for saying this—one would almost think that diplomacy had nothing to do but to make treaties, because we never hear of Canadian diplomacy except in connection with a treaty or agreement. The routine work of diplomacy is very inconspicuous, but it is extremely important.

What is a treaty? In the strict sense of the word it is an agreement couched in a certain solemn form, between two sovereign states; and a sovereign state is one which is known as such by other sovereign states. There is no other meaning to international sovereignty, and there is no other meaning to the word treaty. From that it follows that Canada, not being so recognized by other nations, is not a sovereign state at present, and therefore cannot make a treaty. That is the first thing. She can influence a treaty; she can negotiate a treaty; but she cannot make a treaty, or be a party to a treaty.

Now, a treaty falls into three parts. First of all there is negotiation; then there is the signature; and thirdly—and most important of all—there is the ratification. Those first two stages—negotiation and signature—are conducted, under our constitution, by plenipotentiaries appointed by the king, and they cannot be appointed by any one else. Those plenipotentiaries are appointed under the King's own hand and the great seal of the United Kingdom. The Governor General of Canada has no more power than you and I have to commission a plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty; and a document issued for that purpose under the great seal of Canada would not be recognized by any other nation in the world.

Every plenipotentiary carries a document which is called, in the technical language of diplomacy, a Full Power; and if you will pardon me I will read part of one of those Full Powers in order to emphasize what I have said, namely, that it comes entirely from the King, and that the party to a treaty is not Canada or Australia, but Great Britain. I have the text of the Full Power issued in connection with the Halibut Treaty, which you all know very well:—

> GEORGE R. I.
>
> GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom, etc.

> WHEREAS, for the better treating of and arranging certain matters which are now in discussion, or which may come into discussion, between Us and Our Good Friends the United States of America, relating to the regulation of the Pacific Halibut Fisheries. . . . We have judged it expedient to invest a fit person with Full Power to conduct the said discussion on Our Part:
>
> KNOW YE therefore that We, reposing special trust and confidence in the wisdom, loyalty, diligence and circumspection of Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Honorable Ernest Lapointe (describing him), have named, made, constituted and appointed, as We do by these Presents name, make, constitute, and appoint him Our undoubted Commissioner, Procurator and Plenipotentiary, etc., . . . and to sign for Us, and in Our Name, etc.

And it ends up by saying:—

> IN WITNESS WHEREOF We have caused the Great Seal of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these Presents, which We have signed with Our Royal Hand.

That treaty concerned Canadian waters only, yet there is not a word about Canada in the whole of it; it is purely a treaty between the King on one side and the United States on the other. Of course it is quite possible for the King, as in that particular case, to nominate a Canadian Statesman as his representative, just as he might nominate a Scotchman; but in the eye of the law that nominee would represent not Canada or Scotland or Ireland, but the King of the British Empire, as a whole.

Now, so far we have reached the stage at which, in cases where circumstances permit,—that qualification is very important, and I will call attention to that later —in cases where circumstances permit, Canada's Dominion Representatives may be commissioned to negotiate and to sign treaties. The Halibut Treaty is an example of a treaty signed by a Canadian representative because the Canadian Government, I think unwisely in that instance, objected to the British Ambassador being allowed to sign it at all. In cases like the Five Peace Treaties negotiated in Paris in 1919, or the group of Disarmament and similar treaties negotiated in Washington in 1922, the Dominion representatives and the British representatives joined in the signature of the treaty. But, whoever they are, and whoever they represent in a public sense, it is the British Empire which is bound in the eyes of international law.

Then when a treaty has been negotiated and when it has been signed you come to ratification. Again I have to insist a little upon the accurate use of words because in the public discussion you will find phrases speaking of the treaty being ratified by the Canadian Parliament or the British Parliament or some other Parliament; whereas, under our constitution, a treaty can be ratified by the King and by the King alone under his own hand and the great seal of the United Kingdom. That is very important. The Canadian Parliament or any other Parliament may pass a resolution recommending ratification, but that is all we can do in the eyes of international law. And further, remember that a treaty does not become binding by a signature, but only by ratification; until it is ratified it is not binding on anyone at all.

Now, there is another point, about our diplomatic practice in the Empire. For the last thirty years or so it has been the practice, in negotiating general treaties which affect the Empire as a whole, to insert saving clauses which reserve to the Dominions the right of saying that it shall not apply to this Dominion or to that until the Dominion in question has consented. That has been the common practice for the last thirty years, and the best and most recent example of it is the Treaty of Locarno which was negotiated last year.

There, again, is a definition which requires careful attention. The fact that it does not apply to a particular Dominion until the Dominion has consented does not mean that it is not binding on that Dominion. Every treaty negotiated by British representatives is binding on the British Empire as a whole, although its text may only apply to certain parts of the Empire. The distinction is very important, because if you consider such a case as the Locarno Treaty, in which obligation may arise upon Great Britain to go to war with some other power in pursuance of the terms of the Treaty, the result is this—that if war is declared by Great Britain, under the terms of the Treaty of Locarno, the whole Empire automatically becomes at war; the only privilege reserved to the Dominions being one which is already well understood—that they need not take an active part in that war unless they feel inclined to do so. But they are subject to all the other circumstances of belligerents; that is to say, that Canadian commerce would be attacked on the high seas, that Canadian property in enemy countries could be confiscated, that Canadian citizens in enemy countries could be treated as alien enemies and interned. All those consequences follow, whether we like it or not. All that is open to us to-day is to say that we shall not take any part or send any active belligerents.

I should notice, in passing, that there are certain kinds of informal national agreements which are not treaties, and to which what I have said does not apply. A very good example of this is the agreement which was negotiated between the Canadian and German governments in 1910 relating to the tariff. The discussions were conducted by Mr. Fielding for the Canadian Government and by the German Consul-General in Montreal on the other side. Neither of those gentlemen carried any Full Power, and they had no diplomatic status, and they had no power to make a treaty binding upon Canada alone. A breach of an agreement so made would not have been a breach of treaty, and would not have given any ground for international complication. All that it amounted to was an undertaking on the part of certain officials that they would use their best efforts to induce their respective governments to take certain action.

The next year Sir Wilfrid Laurier negotiated a somewhat similar agreement, perhaps more well-known in our history, with certain Canadian Ministers at Washington, which is known to you all as the Reciprocity Agreement. That agreement was very shortly followed by a change of government in Canada; and of course there was no obligation upon Sir Robert Borden and his government to continue the personal policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. If that arrangement had been a treaty it would have been binding on the country, irrespective of any change of government; but, being no more than a personal agreement, it was open to the succeeding government to change its mind.

So far I have been speaking of treaties and other international agreements. Now I want to look, for a moment, at what is really the more important business of diplomacy—the daily duties which attract very little attention. Upon that I shall say very little. As things stand at present that is practically entirely done for us by Great Britain. It is work which takes the full time and undivided attention of a large body of exceptionally well-trained men. It is not a part-time job. It cannot be done by a minister in the intervals of other duties. The British Foreign Office retains a very large staff of highly-trained and well-paid officials who are intimately conversant with the affairs of practically every country in the world; and the size of that office may be indicated by saying that the annual cost of maintaining it is about $1,500,000. In addition to that Great Britain maintains for the benefit of the Empire as a whole, a complete diplomatic staff at her own expense, the cost of which is about $8,500,000. The total cost of British Diplomacy, borne by Great Britain alone, is about $10,000,000. In Canada at present we do practically none of that part of the work. We have a very small department of External Affairs in Ottawa, which consists, I think, of two chief officials, one a very eminent man, Dr. Skelton, as you know, and a young lawyer and a few clerks. The cost is very small. Outside of Canada we have nothing at all except commissioners who are sent to various countries, but who are not diplomatic officials and have no diplomatic function.

A few years ago we obtained from the Crown permission to nominate a Resident Minister—not an Ambassador as the newspapers so frequently say—at Washington, if we should desire to do so, to assist the British Ambassador in relation to Canadian diplomatic work. So far no advantage of that position has been taken by Canada, although the Irish Free State has already nominated such a Resident Minister. But whoever he is, whether he is Canadian or British, he carries credentials granted by the King, and represents the King, not the Irish Free State or the Governor-General of Canada.

I must come back to the qualification I made about Canadian Dominion representatives being recognized in Paris in negotiations, so far as circumstances permit. At Paris in 1919 and at Washington in 1922 the Dominion representatives were invited to take part in the negotiations as part of the British Delegation. In a case like that of the Halibut Treaty the negotiation was conducted entirely by a Canadian representative. At Lausanne in 1923 Dominion representatives were not invited. What is the reason for the difference? The answer to that question can be given in a word or two. The treaty of Lausanne was a matter of emergency. The treaties of Versailles and Washington were not. The Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties which went with it called the Treaties of Peace. But that is only technically true. The real Peace was made on Armistice Day in November, 1918. On that Armistice Day the enemy was disarmed, his country was occupied, and he was helpless. Peace existed in fact, and the only work that the host of plenipotentiaries at Paris had to do was to define the terms upon which peace should continue, not the terms upon which it should be made, for that existed already. When you come to Lausanne in 1923 you find a very different sate of affairs. At Lausanne we were face to face not with a conquered, disarmed enemy, but with a victorious enemy who was in actual occupation of conquered territory and was willing to go considerably further. Our opponents were led by a man who, whether we consider him as a statesman or as a soldier, must be reckoned, I think, as one of the few very great men who by the circumstances of this war have been able to stamp their personality permanently upon the world. In the space of a few weeks Mustapha Kemal had driven his enemy from the gates of his own capital into the sea; Asia Minor was under his rule already, and the neighboring part of Europe was practically at his mercy. In those circumstances the making of peace was not a matter of leisurely discussion during seven or eight months, but was a matter of immediate and vital urgency. Well, Dominion plenipotentiaries were not invited to assist in that conference; and why? Because their presence there would have been either superfluous or embarrassing. If we were to go and listen and do nothing but agree with the British plenipotentiaries their presence was superfluous. If we were to go there and advocate a somewhat different policy, the only result would have been to make the discussions more diffcult and more prolonged. The moral of this story is obvious—that we cannot press the precedents set at Versailles and at Washington too far; we cannot spread them to cover every possible case.

Where there is ample time for discussion, and where the interests of the Dominions are concerned, Dominion representatives can be and should be invited to take part in the discussions, and the result of the discussions can be and should be submitted to the judgment of the Dominion Parliaments. But where the circumstances call for immediate, decisive and united action we must then either be prepared to follow the lead of Great Britain, or to accept the responsibilities of independent action. I see no other alternative.

Let me sum up what I have said so far. I think we have reached these points—first, Canada has obtained, as things stand, the right to nominate her own representatives to negotiate and sign—subject to the King's ratification—any treaty in which her interests are solely concerned; it being of course understood, as a matter of courtesy and unity, that she keep the British Ambassador concerned fully informed of the progress of the negotiations.

Secondly, Canada has obtained the right to be invited to take part in the negotiations and signature of general treaties which affect her interests, provided that the circumstances of the particular case will permit.

Thirdly, Canada has obtained the right to demand that general treaties shall be so drafted that they will not apply to her without her consent, unless they involve questions of war or peace; and in case of war she has the further right to abstain, if she so desires, from active participation.

Fourthly, Canada has obtained the right to nominate a Resident Minister to assist the British Ambassador at Washington if she desire to do so.

Fifthly and lastly, I may say that Canada has obtained the general right to be kept as fully informed of the general course of British Foreign Policy as is possible in the circumstances.

That, I think, is as far as we have got at present. Now I come to the second point—How far are we prepared to go? Many suggestions are made, some of which are more worthy of attention than others.

The first suggestion I will not dwell upon very long It is endorsed by one very well-known name—Mr. J. S. Ewart, of Ottawa,—who considers that Canada ought to have a separate voice upon questions of war and peace. Of course that means—and I think Mr. Ewart understands that it means—independence, separation complete; because there is no unity of any kind unless there is unity in the face of external danger. You can have unity that admits of a great variety and internal diversity and internal autonomy: but if you have no external unity you have no unity at all. Now, I do not think I need take up your time in discussing that at length, because I gather that the name of your Club indicates that you would answer that suggestion in the negative.

Next suggestion is this—that we should maintain, so far as we can do so, separate diplomatic services of our own. That, again, seems to me to be open to objection. To begin with, there is the question of expense. I do not dwell upon that, because I imagine that if we thought it worth having we would be prepared to pay for it. But there is this further question: What is our diplomatic Service at Ottawa and abroad to do? It must either agree with the British Ambassadors or it must disagree. There, again, you have the old dilemma. You know the old story of the burning of the library at Alexandria many centuries ago, when Caliph Omar laid down the rule that either the books agreed with the Koran, in which case they were superfluous, or they disagreed, in which case they should be destroyed. We are faced with a similar dilemma; if our representatives are only to say "Ditto" to the British Ambassador on every occasion they are superfluous. If, on the other hand, they disagreed, you get the question: are you prepared to push the disagreement to the point of independence, or are you prepared, after a certain amount of grumbling, to come in? You cannot get away from that dilemma. Great Britain has raised no objection to our nominating a Resident Minister at Washington, but I can see that she might raise objection to it. We are in fact saying to Great Britain, if we insist upon it, "We would like to have a Resident Minister at Washington because it happens to suit us to have one there;" and the reply might be, "Will you please have one and go on paying for it?" That is the position we have taken up. No formal objection has been raised by Britain on that question, but I think it might well be raised.

But surely this is the most serious objection—that the Dominion should be called into continuous consultation; that they should have what Sir Robert Borden describes as an adequate voice in the moulding and control of British Foreign Policy. Sir Robert Borden's phrase was taken up by the Imperial Conference in 1917, which passed a resolution in favour of the Dominions having an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations; and it has been left at that for nine years; nothing has been done to translate that generality into effect, the reason being that once you depart from the region of generalities and come down to facts you find it extremely difficult. The difficulty is not so much theoretical as practical. It lies in the nature of the practical work of diplomacy. Look at Lord Grey's recently published Memoirs, and you will find Lord Grey's office hours, when there was no crisis on and when Parliament was not sitting, were something like these:—he was in the foreign office usually from 11 in the morning till 7 in the evening; then he had two hours' work after dinner, and another hour and a half before breakfast in the morning. If the House of Commons was sitting, or there was anything special on, he had to work harder. Now, will you please try and imagine how, in the course of that day, Sir Edward Grey could have worked if he could not take a single step of importance without consulting all the representatives of the Dominions?

Suppose the French Ambassador or the American Ambassador comes into the Foreign Secretary's room—and these things happened not at long intervals, but every day—and says, "Upon this problem this is the view of my government; what is the view of yours?" The British Foreign Secretary would have to answer like this, "I am very much obliged to you for giving me such a clear and concise statement of the views of your government; and I will tell you the views of my government when I have consulted the representatives of Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand and South Africa."

Obviously the thing cannot be done. I mean if you insist that British Diplomacy is never to take an important step until it has obtained the consent of all the Dominions you are in effect saying that British Diplomacy must work with its hands tied behind its back. That is what it comes to; and that is why no scheme has been devised or can be devised which will enable the Dominions to take an active part in the daily routine business of diplomacy. Of course you can say that Canada should be consulted when her interests are affected. So far as possible that is done already, but the difficulty about diplomacy is that you never know where it begins and where it ends. Something may arise in China or Turkey to-day which may seem to have nothing whatever to do with Canada; but it may have a great deal to do with Canada a month hence. Take, as an example, that recent outbreak between Greece and Bulgaria. There was a war just starting, which was nipped in the bud by the League of Nations. If it had not been nipped in the bud it might have involved the whole world. But what did that war start with? It started from this simple circumstance—that a Greek corporal and Bulgarian soldier were making love to the same girl; and they pushed the disagreement to the point of one of them shooting the other; and that simple thing might have involved the whole world. So you can never say where diplomacy will stop when once it has begun.

That is why I say that it is very difficult, once you come to deal with action as distinct from theory and advice, in conceiving of means by which the Dominion representatives can take an active and continuous part in British foreign policy.

So far as consultation is possible, consultation exists already. The British Foreign Office do their best, I think, to keep us informed of such things as interest us, so far as the circumstances of cases admit. The machinery of consultation might possibly be improved, but it cannot be very substantially altered in its nature. That is the reason why I feel skeptical about these continual suggestions that are made to the effect that the Dominions ought to be consulted, or ought to have an adequate voice in the whole of British Foreign Policy. The thing is not so much a theoretical impossibility as a physical.

Well, that is really all I have to say. In conclusion I would just like to mention two different movements which, since the outbreak of the war, have been brought to birth—two quite distinct movements in the world.

One movement has resulted in the creation of a vast number of new small states, bringing with them new problems of all kinds, new citizenship, new cultures, new passports, new tariffs, new government officials—all kinds of development.

On the other hand you have the great unifying forces drawing nations together in the League of Nations and in the World Court and various activities connected therewith. The one tendency to a large extent counteracts the other.

Now, in the British Empire, which existed before the League of Nations, you already have an organization, rather casually formed, but still an organization of some kind, which has realized, in fact, the difficult possibility of reconciling those apparent opposites—of national independence and external unity; and all I would suggest is this, that while insisting to the utmost upon our national dignity, upon our national consciousness, we would be extremely unwise to press our claims to a point which would imperil that greater unity upon which, in the last resort, the existence of our own nationality depends.

MR. WILLIAM DAVIDSON, K.C., expressed the hearty thanks of the Club for the instructive and inspiring address.

MINING—A PERMANENT INDUSTRY

AN ADDRESS BY G. C. BATEMAN, B.SC., SECRETARY OF THE ONTARIO MINING ASSOCIATION.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February 25, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

MR. BATEMAN

I presume that the announcement of a talk on mining such as this, even a very few years ago, would have made the general impression that you were not very greatly concerned as individuals, because mines could not be considered as permanent sources of wealth. While it is quite true that the average life of a mine is short, mining itself is as old as agriculture, if not older, and next to agriculture is the most permanent of all our industries.

I believe that the oldest company in existence in the world to-day is a mining company—a Swedish organization started in 1193 which has been producing copper, gold and silver continuously since that time. One of the big copper mines in the world to-day is the Rio Tinto in Spain. They were sinking a new shaft a few years ago, and at a depth of 90 feet they found a few inches of very rich ore, and when the shaft reached that point it encountered workings dug by the Phœnicians estimated to be 2300 years old. And it is rather remarkable to think that those ancient miners were able to reach that pay-streak that some of the others have been able to do in other mines. In Wells' "Outline of History"it is stated that the first metal to be found used by our prehistoric ancestors was gold. It came into more or less use about the same time as the mythical mines from the mists of antiquity, and has been closely identified with the advance of our civilization since that time.

The search for gold has provided a lure which led to adventure, to conquest, and to settlement. We are told in the Bible that the King had at sea the Navy of Tarshish with the Navy of Hiram. We are told that there came the navy of Tarshish from the mines of Ophir, bringing gold and silver, apes and peacocks. Then there were the discoveries of the old Phœnicians, who were the first miners in Britain. We are familiar with the search for gold in the Western hemispheres. It led Cortez, with a mere handful of men, to conquer the rich country of Mexico. A little later it was the influence which led Pizzaro, with an even smaller number, to conquer Peru, a country with a wonderfully remote civilization of people calling themselves the Children of the Sun. They had Atahuallpa, who was the last Emporer of that vanished race, and who offered to Pizzaro, as a ransom, to fill the room in which he was confined with gold, as high as he could reach with his arms, and that room was 17 x 22 feet. Not only was this astounding ransom offered, it was also paid; yet Pizzaro, despite his word, murdered his wealthy prisoner, and his treatment of that helpless people and his despoilation of that country is one of the worst blots on the history of any Christian nation.

Still further down, in our time, we can see this influence at work. In Africa, in Australia, in the Western States, in Alaska, and last, but by no means least, in Northern Ontario, we find the desire for gold as strong as ever; but we find there that only Nature was conquered, and that this conquest led to the establishment of big industries, to the settlement of the land, and to a new flow of that yellow metal on which the commerce of the world is founded.

This, then, is what has taken place in Northern Ontario, which only about 20 years ago was almost a virgin wilderness. To-day it is the centre of a great and growing industry which for the last few years has probably been the greatest single factor in maintaining the prosperity of this Province.

The metal output in 1925—and that comes only from 9 mines—was valued at $60,000,000. Taking the amount spent by both the producing and non-producing companies, we find that approximately $45,000,000 was distributed for service, wages and supplies, without including the dividends, which also eventually find their way into the channels of trade. This sum is not simply one year's contribution to the business life of this country; I think we can consider it as a permanent addition to our national life which will keep on increasing for many years. You are all interested as individuals because so wide is this distribution that there is no profession or no channel of trade into which some part of this money does not enter. There is a growing appreciation of this fact, a new conception of the importance of mining to the country as a whole. The general facts regarding Northern Ontario are becoming better known, and there seems to be a growing desire to know what the future holds in store.

I have mentioned that the average life of a mine is short, and this, of course, is a factor which we must consider in estimating the possibility for the development of a permanent mining industry in any country or any section of the country. There must be room for expansion. There must be room and opportunity for the discovery of new mines to take care of this wastage which occurs when individual mines are worked out. This is probably the greatest individual factor we must consider when we try to estimate the possibilities of the future in Northern Ontario.

Our mines are found in a class of rocks known as the Pre-Cambrian. We have 260,000 square miles of these. Probably not more than 15 or 20 per cent has been prospected, and while there are great stretches in which very little economic mineral will be found it is difficult, on the whole, to escape the conviction that it represents perhaps not the greatest but one of the greatest undeveloped mineral areas in the world to-day.

In arriving at this conclusion we must compare the known with the unknown; compare the important producing camps with those areas of which we know so little. The producing camps include Sudbury, Cobalt, South Lorraine, Gowganda, Kirkland and Porcupine. All of those lay within a circle having a radius of only 75 miles. This represents an area of 17,500 square miles, or less than 7 per cent of the total area of Pre-Cambrian; yet in this area the production to date has been over $750,000,000, and we have the assurance that in the future many times this amount will be produced.

In the unprospected areas, while the geological evidence is encouraging, we cannot speak with great definiteness about something of which we know so little. I do not want to give you the impression that all this unprospected area will be equally valuable. Probably thousands of square miles will be found to contain no ore of economic importance, but taking it on the whole I am firmly convinced that it is one of the greatest undeveloped mineral areas in the world to-day.

If you look at the map you will find that practically all of our development has occurred close to the railway, and as a matter of fact two of the most important camps were found as a result of railway construction. Prospecting was confined to that area close to the railways, and this was only natural, particularly in the early stages of our mineral development. However, new methods of transportation are being devised. We have new and probably better machinery, and with new and better conceptions of what the industry means to the country as a whole, these will bring about a change. Prospectors are every day going further afield in the knowledge that capital is no longer afraid of distance, and if a discovery is important enough, transportation will be provided.

Further expansion will come about from three sources —first, through increased production and extending the areas of the already proven camps; second, through the re-opening of mines, or new discoveries in areas that have been practically abandoned for many years; and third, through the development of the newer areas. In Sudbury district, as a result of scientific research, many new uses have been found for nickel, and as a consequence the output is increasing very rapidly, and I think it will be only comparatively a short time until the output equals or exceeds the peak of the War production. Those Companies, with their known ore reservations, do things in a very big and permanent way. They have sufficient known ore to last them for 100 to 150 years, and I think it is reasonable to say that the gross value of their ore reserves—that is, the gross value of the ores in the ground, which has nothing to do with net profit—is equal to the national debt of Canada.

In the silver camp districts, while we find a decline in production of Cobalt itself, there are still quite substantial areas in that camp which have not yet been explored. Production, on the whole, is increasing, and last year represents an addition of about $1,000,000 over the previous year. The output of the silver districts as a whole is increasing, due to South Lorraine and Gowganda. South Lorraine is becoming increasingly important, and with the extension of the known areas down near the shores of Lake Temiskaming, and with discoveries being made from time to time, we are assured of a great increase in production. Gowganda is one of the most interesting silver mines just now. It lay practically neglected for many years, but now it is having an opportunity of proving its importance. Production from the individual mines is increasing. New and profitable mines have been opened up, and there appear to be a number of prospects well located which will undoubtedly be opened up with reasonably good chances of success.

The output of the Cobalt Silver Camp itself has only been exceeded by that of three silver camps in the history of the world. Two of those were in Mexico, and one in South America. They probably owed considerable of their preeminence to the fact that they had what amounted to slave labor, which resulted in low cost. Their riches bolstered up the waning strength of Spain; in fact, she otherwise would have fallen. They paid for and equipped the great Spanish Armada.

The experience of English soldiers and sailors in fighting the Spanish trader ships, and such spectacular exploits as Drake's storming of Portobello, known as the treasure-house of the world, led to the development of this Empire and the emergence of England as a great maritime power.

We are perhaps too close to things to realize the influence of metal mining on the destinies of this country, and it must be left for future generations to determine. The gold production, as you know, comes from Kirkland Lake and Porcupine. It has been determined that there are two great mineral belts in North-eastern Ontario in which these mines are found; and the delimiting of those belts has simplified the work of the prospector and enabled him to concentrate his efforts to much better advantage.

These two great belts extend through Kirkland Lake over into Quebec. The Porcupine belt also follows into Quebec. The Kirkland Camp itself is a very rapidly-growing camp which last year increased its production about 55 per cent. It is probably the fastest growing gold camp on the Continent, if not the world, and also I think has about the richest average ore on this Continent. Recently some very important discoveries of very rich ore have been made at considerable depth. Extensions have been found at both ends of the producing area. There are indications that further extensions may be found south of what is known as the main belt. It is usually a rather dangerous thing to play the role of prophet, but I would like to venture the assertion that in approximately two years' time the gold production of Kirkland Lake will be at the rate of $10,000,000 a year—an increase of 100 per cent over 1925 production.

East of Kirkland we have the Larder Lake section, where there is one producing mine, and two others with considerable tonnage of gold ore. This vein has been traced over into Quebec, where discoveries have been found as important as those in Ontario, if not more so.

The Porcupine belt has been traced through, from Munro, also into Quebec. Within a few miles of Porcupine east, there is a large drift-cooled area. Some companies consider this of a sufficient importance to acquire very large acreage, because they hope that the extension of the Porcupine camp will be found there. In Porcupine itself production is increasing, and the confines of the known ore extensions are being extended. East of Pearl Lake good results are being met with, and South of the Dome three new mills are being built. I would also venture the prediction regarding the outlook of the Porcupine plant and say that it is expected that in about two years production will be at the rate of $34,000,000 to $35,000,000 a year—an increase of 40 per cent over 1925.

Coming now to a consideration of what were old ores which have been passed over for a great many years, we find in at least two of those a revival of interest. The Goodlow section is a strong illustration of this. There the Pine Grove Syndicate and others are operating, and any measure of success will stimulate interest there, and lead to a large number of companies of prospectors going in.

North and North-East of Sault Ste Marie there is a very promising area which will receive attention. Just west of Goodlow is the Michipicoten District. Last year a very strong company went in there on a scientific basis and encountered results which appeared to be very promising, and there will be a good deal of work done there this year.

Further to the West we have the old Rainy River and Lake of the Woods District, which were the scene of the first gold mines in Ontario, and as a matter of fact were responsible for the bad odor in which gold mining in this province stood for many years. However, those mines were found at a time when our mining and metallurgical methods were much less efficient than they are at present, and with our present knowledge of geology of gold mines we think it would seem reasonable to expect that something may be found there.

You will see from this map that practically all our development to date has taken place between the Canadian National Railway on the north, and the Canadian Pacific Railway on the South. In this area between these railways there are still large stretches which are practically unknown, where undoubtedly large discoveries will be made. I might mention that in that area there are 500,000,000 tons of known iron ore which some day must be utilized.

North of the Canadian National Railway we have a vast unknown country, and you can see how large that Northern section is in proportion to its neighbors to the South. Thousands upon thousands of square miles have never been visited by the white man, and as an evidence of the possibilities we might point to the more or less recent discoveries in Red Lake, in the District of Patricia, about 150 miles from the Railway. So great has been the rush of prospectors to that country that some people say it will be the biggest stampede since the Yukon. Hundreds of men are going in, or preparing to go in, and in the Spring I think that number will be very largely increased, because the reports I have from there are very, very promising indeed. The snow motors which were sent in, and were expected to provide a new method of transportation for mining in that district without railways, did not prove a success, and had to be abandoned for dog teams. As a consequence dogs are at a premium, and the country has been swept clear of good dogs as far as Winnipeg, and prices of $100 to $200 for a single dog, and $400 for a four-dog team are being paid. It looks as if Red Lake may be important. We do not know how large the area may be, because it is winter staking, but there is no doubt that the excitement there will result in the opening up of hundreds of holes which otherwise might have lain dormant for years.

In Manitoba, just over the Ontario Boundary, discoveries have been made which appear to be quite important. On the Quebec side of the line we have the Rouyn field, of which we all know. In between is a stretch of a thousand miles of practically unknown country, in which engineers and prospectors will find a field of activity for generations. We cannot say what will be found, or that the camps we hope to find will rival in importance those we have in the older parts, but there is every reason for believing that in that great area there is undiscovered wealth which will prove to be one of the greatest national assets and a heritage for future generations.

To explore that country we need capital. Mining capital is at once the most venturesome and at the same time the most timid of all investment money. It is willing to take great risks, but it must have large returns. The percentage of profitable ventures to the total number undertaken is small, so that they must have large returns, because the producing companies must carry the whole burden. We think that we have a mineral area, but we need something more than that. We must be assured that mining companies will be empowered to make those large returns. We need stability—stability in operating conditions, stability in our laws, stability in our taxes. Fortunately we have a Government which realizes this, and which has committed itself to a fair and definite policy. Having, then, these factors, a large undeveloped and very promising mineral area, a sympathetic government, and a reasonable assurance that capital will come in if we show them the goods, we can look forward with every confidence to the future.

(Films were then shown, representing Northern Ontario, illustrating the geological formation of the mining sections and various features of the work of prospectors.)

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK expressed the appreciation of the Club to the Speaker for his admirable address and beautiful pictures, and also welcomed Sir Arthur Currie as a guest of the Club.

CANADIAN—AUSTRALIAN CONTRASTS

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. H. HEATON, M.COM., D.LITT.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, March 4, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

PROF. HEATON

Gentlemen, I speak under two serious disabilities. Firstly, I feel that it will not be safe to talk about Canada and Australia to-day in view of speeches by some learned, noble and distinguished men at Ottawa ; and I find myself wondering whether the country that is being talked about is an ex-enemy country, and whether that queer, cunning, deceitful, crafty land smuggled a trade - treaty into your door — a wooden horse full of all sorts of terrible soldiers — and whether somehow the simple, confiding Canadian representatives in that Canadian-Australian Treaty were not, metaphorically, knuckle - dusted. Therefore it might probably be best to keep quiet, and lie low, and allow you to get your impressions of Australia by buying a pound of that Australian butter that is for sale in some parts of Eastern Canada now. Would it not be a horrible thing if, after having lost one part of the Empire over a case of tea, and after nearly losing Australia two years ago over the currants and raisins for the English plum-pudding, Australia and Canada came to daggers drawn over a few pounds of butter?

My difficulty in making comparisons between the two countries is that during eleven years of residence I was able to see most of the parts of Australian life and study some of its more outstanding features and problems at first hand, whereas I cannot claim the same concerning Canada where I have been but eight or ten months. However, there is one consolation — after living in one new country it is not difficult to understand another, because new countries, especially inside the British Empire, are so much alike. One has only to learn this simple lesson—that if he finds things different in another country, it does not necessarily follow that they are inferior to his own; they are merely different, that is all. The Englishman who does not learn this lesson will encounter difficulties in the United States as did the Cambridge University gentleman I met recently in the Pennsylvania Hotel, New York, who praised the American conveniences and methods, but could not stomach the porridge. After milking and sugaring it, and putting the first spoonful in his mouth, he spluttered it out with the explanation, "That's not like Cambridge porridge!" I suggest that we will never understand the Empire, or any other part of the world, if we judge it simply by the differences in the taste of porridge.

When one has worked in a new country for a certain time and then goes to another, superficial trivialities are not noticed, because one has become accustomed to the look of galvanized iron, to the roughness of some of the roads, to the presence of tree-stumps in some parts, to waste patches of land covered with rusty iron or empty cans, to the display of real-estate boards, to electric and telegraph poles, not upright, even in the main streets of Montreal.

Let me point out a few things in which Canada and Australia are alike, and then some things in which one sees marked differences. I propose to omit entirely those things which the world is standardizing. For example, when in Kamloops I saw an announcement of a fine picture—I think it was "Potash and Perlmutter in Hoyllwood." I found the very same announcement in New York and in Chesley, England; and away out in a country village in Ceylon the natives were being invited to develop modern civilization in the nature of "Potash and Perlmutter." When I got back to Adelaide, Australia, people there were being invited to the same spectacle. Another case of standardization throughout the world is the flivver, with its flivver story; in the hills of Samoa and Fiji the natives handle their little Fords car as skilfully as it is done in Australia or on English country roads. In every part of the world during the last two years, everybody is being invited to do cross-word puzzles; people are being enticed to cure their ailments by the use of Spearmint,—and the women of the world—nay, even the half-caste women of the Pacific Islands— are being shown simple and economical ways of preserving their school-girl complexions. Those are the external standardizations that are making the world really abominally alike.

Apart from those things, in which perhaps Australia is as bad as Canada, there are three or four points in which the two Dominions are very much alike. In both, the chief problem for the past one hundred and fifty years has been the settlement, the opening up, the exploitation of large areas by people of European origin. To-day, in both cases, the problems have been primarily economic—those of Australia being far more so than in Canada—the working out of the character of the country; the exploitation of its natural resources; the opening up of means of transportation by land and by water; the devising of a system of land tenure; the establishment and development of manufactures, trade and marketing: in short, the building up of all the many-sided machinery of modern economic life.

The two countries are very much alike, also, in trying to make the best of British methods of parliamentary responsible government, neither being willing to try the Eastern European methods of autocracy, assassination and atrocity methods which a friend of mine who is well acquainted with Europe and Russia aptly called the "normal method of argument" in those countries. Both Canada and Australia, largely because of their British connection, adopted, or were given, or were compelled to adopt, the British system of parliamentary government.

There are differences, of course, in point of detail. For instance, most of the Australian Provinces have two-chamber governments, while you have only one, except in Quebec and Nova Scotia. The Australian provinces, or States, as they are called, have governors who, in addition to the Governor General, are "imported" from Great Britain. The federal senate in Australia is an elected, not a nominated, body. The State Governments there have greater powers than were entrusted by the constitution to the Provincial governments in this country. But apart from those differences in point of structure and detail, Canada and Australia are very much alike. In the speeches that are too long, in their love for Royal Commissions, in the printing of voluminous Hansards, and in the delight in long parliamentary sessions, Canadian and Australian politics are as like as two peas in a pod.

The two countries are much alike in the sense of optimism, confidence in the future, that belief that expresses itself in such remarks as, "This is God's own country." If you go to Australia the people will tell you that theirs is the finest climate in the world; so will the people of New Zealand and Florida. I have even heard Englishmen say that theirs is the finest climate in the world. But we make up for our appeals to a traditional past by our belief in a glorious future. We all declare of our countries as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said about yours—that the twentieth century was Canada's. One night I heard a man say, when getting on a train at Montreal Station for New York, "Well, I am off to God's own country." Judging by his accent he certainly was not either a Canadian or an Australian. That sort of thing is very desirable provided it does not tend to make us think too ambitiously, or run to a boom and then to the inevitable bust. When people declare that in a few years, it may be a century or less, Canada or Australia will have 100,000,000 people, it is best to shove into our ears the cotton wool of a very healthy skepticism and say, "What does it matter whether Canada has 100,000,000 or only 30,000,000 so long as they are happy and comfortable and have the right spirit, and there is a sense of so much decency and justice amongst them?" We both tend to talking too much about quantity, about shoving in as many noughts as possible; but it is better to have a decimal point somewhere amongst them.

Finally, one finds in both countries a strongly developing desire to build up what we might call, for want of a better term, a characteristic culture. In both Dominions we are feeling that man does not merely live by bread or potatoes or lumber or wood-pulp alone; that if Canadians are to be more than hewers of wood and drawers of water and tillers of great acres, we must have our art and letters and drama and poetry and all the rest of the things that make life really worth while.

In most countries—shall I be frank?—one finds earnest, but sometimes a little too self-conscious, and sometimes a little too conceited, efforts in that direction. To compare what has been achieved in Canada and Australia, I should be inclined to say that Canada has gone far beyond Australia in the realm of oil painting, in its work with those brilliant hues and rich colors that come inevitably from the Canadian forests, or the vivid blues and whites of the snow; but that perhaps Australia is ahead of Canada in its black-and-white work, whether it is the cartoons of a Phil May, De Blue, or Norman Lindsay, or whether it is in the realm of poetry. I throw these opinions out very tentatively and hesitatingly, but to me these are the two chief features of an attempt to build up a distinct Canadian culture. The pictures at Wembley may be criticized by Canadians, but they seemed to me to breathe something of the atmosphere and culture of Canada. On the other hand, the Australian pictures were rather puerile mists and fog, rather colorless in most cases; yet the black-and-white work in Australia is perhaps better than what is achieved in Canada.

There you have four things in which the two Dominion are very much alike—in their economic problems, their political systems, their confidence in the future, and their desire to build up what you might call culture.

Yet in these things there is a difference that expresses itself in many ways, due to the character of the population, their geographical position, and the facts of history itself. There are differences even in language. What you call a street-car is there called a tram; a sidewalk here is a foot-path there; gas here is petrol there; an elevator is a lift; you talk about an automobile, but the Australian is much more economical and calls it a car; you speak of candies, but an Englishman talks of sweets, and an Australian calls them lollies. You speak of a garbage-pail, while the Australian calls it a rubbish-tin. Some words have very widely different meanings. In Australia if you wish to compliment a man on having carried through a particularly heavy and probably badly paid or unpaid piece of work you say, "My word, you have proved yourself a magnificent grafter;" but if you called a Canadian a magnificent grafter he would not quite appreciate the compliment.

On the other hand, there is a word which in Canada is perfectly harmless, but which has evil meanings and historical associations in the Antipodes. When, for instance, a rather zealous railway agent in Montreal said that he hoped his company would have the honor of arranging for my transportation I was shocked, for that word in Australia means a system of preventing the overcrowding of British jails by sending petty thieves and Scotch radicals and Irish Home-rulers out to the convict settlement of Botany Bay.

Also there are differences in pronunciation, so that you could easily tell a Canadian from an Australian. The latter speaks a twang—shall we call it that?—which is a compromise between Cambridge and Cockney; while the Canadian—doesn't; I leave it at that.

I will now speak of some aspect of Australian life from which you can realize how far different Australian conditions are from those here. Australia is a huge country, though not as big as Canada. It is 3,874,562½ square miles—which means that it is a little larger than the United States; about 25 times the size of England and Wales; and about 1,492,361½ times the size of Gibraltar. But one has to cross out at least half of the Australian Continent as being probably never of any great use except for a very sparse population keeping sheep or cattle. The real part in which Australians in the future will live is the eastern and southeastern strip of perhaps a million square miles; just as in Canada population will be grouped, probably a century hence, where it is grouped to-day, on the long 100 or 200-mile strip west of Montreal, and then in that chunk of country out west on the prairies, perhaps 2,000,000 square miles in all. Both Dominions have their large proportion of land which will never be of any real use for close settlement. Both, therefore, have to make the best of the best, and it is the opening up and settlement and close development and intense cultivation of those limited areas.

On those billion square miles Australia has about 6,000,000 people. The increase has been about 2 to 2½ per cent per annum, which represents the doubling of her population every 25 years; and that growth is almost exactly the same as you have had in Canada. That is about the maximum rate at which it is safe for the Dominions to try to absorb further population.

I suppose the first thing that impresses every Canadian going to Australia is that it is an abominably long way off. From Vancouver the quickest boat takes from 20 to 22 days to the nearest Australian point. From London, through Suez, you have a fast journey of 35 to 40 days. If you go round the Cape, it would take you 42 days from Southampton, to Melbourne. Even the most recent improvements in communication have not quite eliminated Australia's isolation. That isolation has been in some ways Australia's bane, and on the other hand one of its great benefits. Of course it meant that that continent was late in being settled, as population was loath to go so far when Canada and the United States were so much nearer. Australia has had to fight against that isolation and long distance, and the long journey hinders Australia in the attempt to capture this, that, and the other market.

Put that alongside the Canadian position. Here, whether you like it or not, you have an insistent, inevitable pull from two near-by neighbours—United States on the south and Europe on the east—and the longer one has lived in Australia the more one realizes how big is that pull from those two sources. One of the greatest shocks I got in Canada was in opening my copy of the *London Weekly Times*, and discovering that it was only eight or at most ten days old. In other words, it was talking about things which were still of current interest; while in Australia, when I got my copy of the *Times*, it was thirty-five to forty-five days after its date, and I merely looked at the births, deaths and marriages, and one or two items, for the paper had ceased to be of interest. Here you have the Canadian nation trying to build up its distinct point of view, yet with that pull from south and from east; and I think you would all agree that it is very difficult at times to go as you would like because of the influences from those two directions.

It is easier for the Australian to look at things and develop along his own lines, fairly secure economically, and fairly secure, he hopes, politically and internationally with no great pull such as you feel in Canada. He is able therefore to build up a type of life, political, social and economical in its outlook, which is perhaps more distinctively Australian than the Canadian outlook is distinctly and peculiarly Canadian; and I think if you went to Australia you would agree that it is perhaps an outstanding contrast between the two countries.

Second to that, I put the contrast in the composition of the population. The Australian population is almost entirely British, the whole tide of emigration having been from British ports. Ninety-eight per cent of the population is of British origin, and I am safe in saying that not a quarter of a million people have gone in the last one hundred and fifty years to Australia from non-British ports. There is a very small sprinkling of Germans, a few Russians, a small number of Italians, and of course on account of the "White Australia" policy the flow from Asia and from across the equator has been virtually nil. Hence in the population there are no big numbers of non-British people, such as Canada has in Winnipeg or in the polyglot areas of the Prairie Provinces From your own experience of Canadian problems—the relation between French and British, the problem of the Canadian European out on the Prairies—you perhaps realize how simplified many Australian issues are in consequence. They have not the problem of teaching English before teaching anything else; the language problem does not exist, and there is a fairly uniform religious outlook.

Perhaps more important still, the entire population has grown up soaked in the British ideas of political life and parliamentary affairs, so that they have no need to teach their people what parliamentary government is. So, in a host of ways, in the whole outlook of the population, you have an essential Britishness which is natural, and which has not to be fostered or cultivated. Finally, it is an easy thing for a Prime Minister to make a speech in Australia; he does not need to know French as well as Canadian. There were times in Australia when one wished there had been more inter-mixture. The Australian was more British than the British, and a good dash of German music and German industry, a bit of Russian pessimism and Russian ability to play the piano, and a few other bits of European contribution would help to make the Australian national character, when it does emerge, a little bit more florid than it is likely to be at present. I suppose the Australian Sunday is almost exactly like the Toronto Sunday; that may be a virtue, or it may be the opposite.

Finally, I think I should contrast the general political and social outlook of Australia, and say that Australian thought was much more contingent on European radicalism than was Canadian thought. Of course that was largely due to the historical fact that Australia happened in her early days to draw people who were of a radical political or economic temperament. Many of those who went there against their will went not because they had pinched somebody's handkerchief or picked a loaf of bread when a grocer was not looking; they went because they were Scotch Radicals in the French Revolutionary period, or Irish Home-rulers of 1901, or because they were people interested in the formation of friendly societies or trade unions; or they were Chartists or something of that sort, or revolutionists of the 1848 period, and many of them went out because they hoped in that far-distant land, away from all the evil anachronisms of Europe, to be able to build an economic world nearer to their heart's desire.

So, long before the rise of the general labor movement this gave the Australian political outlook that extreme radicalism. That outlook was of course strengthened by the rise of the political and economic labor movement; and in the growth of strong labor unions, and then with the turning of those unions to political action instead of ordinary industrial action, you had coming into the Australian political field a large number of proposals which made Australia in some respects a sort of political and economic laboratory. I can merely mention them. One is a big extension of state enterprise. There is no sort of argument in Australia whether state ownership or private ownership is specifically and fundamentally right; the thing is taken for granted. There is no reason why the state should not do this if private enterprise will not do it, or provided the state can do it better. So you have not what you have had in Canada, two private railway systems competing. The whole affair is state-owned. In other ways the state has embarked on lines of activity because it was thought that the state could do them as well as or better than private enterprise.

In this field of labor relations I suppose the outstanding cause was an attempt to work out a legally-enforced minimum wage. The doctrine was laid down away back in the nineties of last century that in order to preserve industrial peace and stamp out sweating it was necessary that the state should guarantee to every worker a reasonable wage sufficient to meet the bed-rock minimum requirements of a decent existence; and from the nineties onward Australia has been experimenting in a great variety of ways—sometimes with success, often with failure—in its desire to guarantee to the wage-earner suffcient to preserve him from the worst effects of poverty. As one goes through Australia's record one finds that at other points Australia has perhaps led in trying out different things which have been subsequently copied—modified, maybe—in other parts of the world.

By the outside world Australia is often regarded as a hot-bed of socialism. The recent federal election was said to be fought between communism and parliamentary government. Personally I do not think Australia is a socialistic country, or a revolutionary one. Too many people own their houses, and too many people have savings accounts which are too large. Further, the very Britishness of Australians prevents the British population from having much patience with abstract ideas. As a Frenchman once described Australia, "It is a land of socialism without doctrines." Certainly, there were no doctrines, and I very much suspect there was not very much socialism in the continental sense of that term. No; it is merely a general desire to see that the mass of population has a fair deal. It is the desire to prevent the great extreme between wealth and poverty. It is the desire to guarantee that nobody has cake until everybody has got an adequate supply of bread. Under a fairly genial climate, in a land where frost and snow are virtually unknown, life does tend to become fairly comfortable and at times pretty easy for the great mass of the population.

These, then, are the three things in which one can find marked contrasts between Australian and Canadian life. The result of the isolation has been to help to develop a distinct national individuality; the influence of the homogeneity of the population has simplified many political and social problems: while a strong streak of radicalism runs through all political parties, especially the labor party.

In conclusion, a few words on the Imperial outlook. There was a time when the Australian radicals talked about "cutting the painter"—when in Australia, as I have no doubt in Canada, people were keen on developing their own national institutions, on becoming a full-grown country, and not merely a sort of youngster in leading-strings of Downing Street. Those days have gone. Strong national sentiment is still there; it is still fostered and carefully cultivated, and in its name industries are encouraged, and what I call culture is fostered and helped at every possible point. But if you get an Australian in a corner and say, "Now, look here, on what, in the last resort, does your comfortable standard of life rest, and your interesting series of state experiments, your White Australia, your very independence and political nationality?" And if he is candid he will be compelled to admit that, in the last resort, it rests on the British Navy. Although his national spirit made him determine at the beginning of the century to build up his own navy; although he has wanted to build up an army as well as a navy, that he himself should control from Melbourne instead of its being controlled from Whitehall, still he would admit, in the last resort, that 6,000,000 people out there would just be a nice morsel for some oriental giant to gobble up if it were not for the existence of British protection.

That, perhaps, makes Australia far more interested in problems of Imperial defence and Imperial relations than Canada. I am on very thin ice, but I feel strongly that Canada can feel fairly safe. I do not know whether you expect any sort of great menace from the Oriental—and in Vancouver of course they do—but when one gets beyond the Rockies one does not feel that Oriental peril to be at all keen. In the East I suspect you feel that the only enemy you have would be the United States, and for the time being that can be discounted. Under these circumstances, as far as I can see—and I may be entirely wrong—the defence problem is not what I would call a problem of first-rate importance in Canadian politics. At any rate, it did not appear so in the speeches which were made in the last election. You are fairly secure here, provided the United States won't let anybody else take you; so perhaps there is not any great danger.

But Australia cannot feel that way, with India to the north, with its 400,000,000 people, and China with its 400,000,000, and Japan with nearly 70,000,000 people. Australia feels that perhaps she is sitting on the edge of a volcano; so when you get an Imperial Conference it may often seem that the Australian representative is far more in line with the wishes of Whitehall than the Canadian representatives are. But before you judge and condemn them as being the tools of Downing Street, and all that, remember the fact of the helplessness of 6,000,000 people guarding their territory out there on the edge of the map.

All that talk about cutting the pianter has gone. It was easy to talk of that so long as there was no Japan or Germany looking beyond her own borders; but to-day Australia has to look to the fact that, in the last resort, in the British Navy lies her last and perhaps her only assured safety.

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN W. DAFOE,

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Thursday, March 11, 1926,

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

MR. DAFOE

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The interest which Australia has for distant kinsmen must be very largely political, although the country is interesting apart from that, and one can quite understand why the Australians are so very chesty about their country, which has scenic beauty, and a delightful climate—for people who like that kind of a climate. The sentiments of Australians are very strong, and specially so for the particular state in which they live. In travelling around Australia we found it rather hard to keep on terms with some of our friends, and we found it a great help and comfort in quoting Holy Writ and saying, like St. Paul,—"In whatever State I am I have learned therewith to be content."

The interest in Australia is political. It has no history, but it has a very interesting present, and a future which makes an appeal to the historic imagination. Time could not be much better spent by journalists or publicists than by visiting that country and seeing how our kinsmen—because they are the same people as ourselves—react to their surroundings, and how they have attacked their problems. The marked differences are due to a variety of causes which can be easily sorted out and identified.

Australia has had the freest application of the proletarian or democratic conception of government that has been possible in the world, except New Zealand which is very similar. About 120 years ago our race discovered on the other side of the globe a mighty world with nobody in it except a few blacks, who did not count; a world equipped with almost all resources and facilities for the sustenance and development of a great people, and into that vast area the race began to flow. It was an almost purely English immigration, though Scotch and Irish went in later; but the earliest settlers were from the masses in England which, to use a modern term, might be called the "underprivileged classes"—the landless, the dispossessed, the down-and-outs, the victims of a very stern economic system, and very many also victims of a very harsh criminal system, so that the historian must never disregard the fact that a considerable number of the original settlers did not go to Australia voluntarily. It does not necessarily follow, however, that they were criminals, because among those transported were five or six laborers from a little village in England who had committed the monstrosity of forming a union of farm laborers. That was largely the class which in the last century contributed a couple of million people to Australia. Then a number, very adventurous, but without means, went out owing to the discovery of gold.

To those people self-government was given in the fifties of the last century. They had no past, no inherited institutions, no stereotyped political theories; they were people who in England at that time would have been largely debarred from the franchise, because they fell below the standards which determined the granting of the franchise. There was no established church, no aristocracy, no powerful financial organization; there were none of the institutions which in all other countries that have approached democratic government have put on the brakes, to the advantage or detriment—according to the point of view—of the democratic movement. In Australia those people came into possession of the franchise, at first of a restricted form, but the restrictions vanished at once before the attack of popular feeling. In a very few years, by 1860 or 1861, there was manhood suffrage in Australia—more than a generation before we had it in Canada—and the people there proceeded to take the powers of the state and use them as seemed right to them, whereas in other democratic countries they did not get access to the powers of the state, or if they did there were very powerful countervailing influences.

The first result of their action was to powerfully disturb the people at home, who felt towards these Australian colonies very much as a hen that had hatched out a brood of ducklings would feel. The fears and apprehensions of England were voiced in a series of very interesting articles in the London Times, which give an admirable idea of how Australia started on this career of democratic, or socialistic experiment. The Times, thundering in its loudest tones, said:—

"The Assembly (of Victoria) is now sunk far below its former level. Many of its best members have been excluded, to make way for persons of the most indifferent character. It is evident that the pale of safety and of government in those communities has been overthrown, and that they are now governed by a single class—the proletarian society—and that class the most ignorant and least respectable of all. The crassest fallacies, the most mischievous delusions, are the means, and it would seem the only means. of reaching and maintaining power. There is no power in the single class which governs those communities to regenerate itself or reform them. We see in Australia the image of what we have escaped in England. It is impossible for a legislature selected by a single class, and that the lowest and most ignorant in the community, to work responsible government as it is worked in England, where"—and this is the point I tried to make—"where the democratic element is tempered by a large admixture of property and intelligence."

Well, you see it was not those proletarians who came into power in England in 1860; and all those brakes had been automatically swept into the sea. But the people in Australia are our own people, and those under-privileged classes got the possession of the powers of government and proceeded to use them—just as the people in all ages who have the power of government—to forward their own interests, to serve what they considered their own purposes; and from that fact has naturally developed all the legislative progress in Australia which has taken them so far afield from the path which had been followed by the older English-speaking nations such as England, and in some senses Canada.

Certain principles of government which have developed from the aptitude towards government have now become part of the consciousness of the whole people. A French observer some years ago said that Australia had socialism without formulae; that is to say, it was not a case of a philosopher working out a socialistic scheme and then handing it to the people. The Australians were perhaps never conscious, and are not now conscious, that many of their achievements are socialistic; they would tell you it is simply their conception of the application of democracy, of several principles which underlie all their legislation.

One principle is that there is no power which is not derived from the people. There are no countervailing sovereignties of any kind in Australia. For illustration, there is no institution there—whether it is a good institution or not I am not discussing—such as our Senate, which derives its power from the Crown operating through a ministry, and which, at least theoretically, has absolutely coordinate powers with our House of Commons. They have second chambers in Australia, but they are of two kinds; they are either elected, in which case the number is fixed, or they are nominated, in which case there is no limit to the membership, and it is always possible, or theoretically possible, in the case of a contest with the other House, to appoint enough Councillors to give effect to the policy of the government. While they do not admit any power which is not derived from the consent of the people, it is true that once that power is given, once it is evident that the consent of the people has been obtained, they go very far—much farther than public opinion would tolerate in this country—in compulsion. They believe that the majority can compel minorities in ways which would strike us as a marked infringement upon the rights of the individual.

You see this all through their legislation. You see it in compulsory voting. In Australia you have got to vote; if you don't vote they fine you. They are busy now fining 200,000 or 300,000 who did not vote in the last election. This compulsory voting proposition was brought into Parliament a year ago by a private member, and the parties thought it was a good thing, and passed it. It was a good thing to this extent, that a million more people voted in November 1925 than voted in January 1923. Each party thought that if the unpolled vote came out it would help that party—but in fact the people who had been staying at home divided up pretty much as the rest of the community did when they had to vote.

Then there is compulsory arbitration. Theoretically there is not to be industrial strife in Australia, but of course the theory and practice do not exactly jibe. They have perhaps a little more industrial strife there than we have here, or you hear more about it. A labor leader in Australia told me that he had statistics to show that there was nothing like the industrial trouble there that there was in Canada. That may be so in a purely statistical sense, but the industries which are vital to that country—transportation by sea, and railroads, and mining—are in a more or less perpetual state of industrial unrest. They call strikes in the most light-hearted manner, and when one is settled they call another.

They have also compulsory fixing of wages. The whole theory is that the State is going to see what the basic wage is to be throughout Australia. That basic wage is fixed on an estimate of what an unskilled laborer with a family of three needs to live. It is $21, and they build the other wages on top of that. As near as I could find out, the great crime against the community in Australia was to try to do anything cheaply. When we were in Sydney a taxi-cab company came into Melbourne to compete with the existing company, and it did the very natural thing, of cutting rates. Our old friend, the law of supply and demand, is taboo in Australia, and they promptly dug up some institution which has the power to fix taxi-cab rates, and they decided that those rates must not fall below a certain level, because if they did it would impair this standard of living. That is the idea which runs through the entire legislation dealing with such things as wages.

Then they have the idea of compulsory co-operation. Now, that is a very interesting and amusing combination of terms. You have to run your business in accordance with the idea of everybody in that business as to how you should dispose of your product. This applies particularly to agricultural production. You see the same thing in the United States at the moment. The farmers of Australia are somewhat like those of Western Canada and the Western States. When we visited one rural district in Australia the local paper got out a special edition for our instruction, saying that we could not rely on what we got from the city dailies. All the grievances of the farmers were set forth at great length, and I read them with much interest; they were not new to me, though the language was somewhat new in some parts. For instance, this paper said that farming would not develop, and anybody was a fool to indulge in farming while poor farmers had to remain the "Joeys" of the manufacturers, the secondary interest. Well, I thought that sounded quite familiar. So they are getting this idea of controlled markets; and Dr. Page, the leader of the Country Party, and the Vice-Premier, in a policy speech at the beginning of the campaign, introduced what he called "the new protection." I had a long talk with Dr. Page. They started out with the idea that they could get tariff protection, but I think they decided that they could not do so. In three successive elections they had 20 Country Members out of a House of 76.

So they are going to try to get it in another way, and they are consciously aiming at controlled and compulsory marketing. If what Page forecasted takes place the time will come when everybody in Australia will have to turn over his quota of exportable surplus to some sort of a marketing agency which will sell it abroad for what they can get, and then the proportion for home consumption will be sold to the working men in the cities on terms which Page believes will make the farmers something more than "Joeys" for the manufacturers and secondary industries. I asked Page: "What will you do if they raise the price on you?" He said: "We will either coerce them, or the smash will come all the sooner." There you have the idea in that respect. In Queensland, if you grow fruit you can only ship so much a week, for the railway is not a common carrier. You will be told to whom to ship it, and this is compulsory cooperation; the idea being to control the individual in the interest of the community to which he belongs, and supposedly for the purpose of making Australia the paradise which its inhabitants really think it is.

You will notice that this compulsion is entirely in the economic and political fields. In the social field they are not really concerned about the individual, and I do not think there will be any movement to abolish the bar in Australia. The hotel at which I stayed employed fourteen of the nicest, plumpest bar-maids to conduct the ceremony and carry out the function which it seemed to me I had seen elsewhere in a former state of existence.

Then the application of the State to the benefit of everybody took the form of building facilities. When they wanted a railway they built it; there was really nobody else to do it. You must remember that the early government of Australia was penal; and if there is anything more socialistic than a government operated under penal conditions I would like to know what it is. The government is the whole thing, and when the external government went away and the people were in charge they proceeded to use the powers of government to supply all the things they needed. It never occurred to the average Australian that the railways ought to be owned by anybody but the State. It is the same with tramways and with power; all the power developments, which are based on coal, are governmental; they are not based on hydro, and in that sense Australia is a dry country.

Long-term credit for farmers is an old institution there. The Commonwealth Bank has just issued rural credits to finance marketing on a very generous scale. The Labor Party are pledged to make insurance a Government monopoly, and this is being developed. In New Zealand, and to some extent in Australia, the work of the public trustee is a great and growing institution. All those things have developed naturally from the idea—"Here is the power of the State; let us do these chores for ourselves," whereas in the older countries there were established powers that said, "We will do these things for you." The divergences have happened naturally, and are capable of a perfectly reasonable explanation.

Then of course they have the same ideas with regard to fiscal policy. I do not think there is any country in the world where imports are so despised as in Australia. They are the keenest people in the world to ship their goods abroad, they are looking the world over for markets but they are apparently going to refuse to take any pay for them.

Then there is the "White Australia," which is the coping-stone of the whole proposition. No coloured labor is allowed in. They are going to make that country a white man's paradise; all the manual work that is necessary to be done, white men can do. White men may not be able to work in the Tropics elsewhere, but the Australian climate and the Australian sun and Australian man get along in perfect harmony, and they are determined—that is the characteristic of Australia—to map out a future and achieve it by sheer resolution.

All these things have resulted in the creation of a very distinct nation. Nobody can go to Australia without feeling that there is a nation, homogeneous in population, and in a large sense a community of material interests. They live on an island on the other side of the world; they have a common apprehension of the northern 500,000,000 people of a different color, against whom they are holding the gates. They have common ambitions, and they are being welded and fused into an undeniable nation; I do not think anyone can miss the sense of that. A distinct Australian type is emerging. One of the characteristics of the nation is that they feel that the rest of the world is not a patch on Australia. Australian superiority is not a matter of discussion at all; they admit it. They have a national literature—crude, but Australian. They read their own publications they are protected by the wide Pacific from the flood of American literature which we get, and from some literature from England which is just about as objectionable. They grow their own literature, and against their will they are developing, and if they do not look out will have, a national language. The very famous and ancient Anglo-Saxon language, whose citadel is supposed to be confined to the charmed circle over which Bow Bells presides, is just about to conquer the continent of Australia, and I am inclined to think that the people who are fighting against it are fighting against fate. Australians have a habit of declaring things black, and when a thing is declared black it is supposed to curl up and die. Well, they have declared the letter "A" black in Australia.

Since Australia is a nation with a homogeneous people, with their own ambitions and outlook, what is their relation to the rest of the world, to the other Dominions, to Great Britain? A nation must necessarily have external relations, and these must, after all, be dictated by its internal conditions. Here there is a conflict of opinion between the Nationalist Party and the Labor Party, but I will discuss first the attitude of the Nationalist Party, which is at the moment dominant, and which will always dispute the ground with the Labor Party, although there is no assurance that it will continue in power. The Nationalist party has a pretty severely defined policy. Premier Bruce addressed the Imperial Press Conference on two occasions, and in the second address, dealing with this question, he said:—

"As a result of the War the whole of the relations of the British Empire were completely changed. We entered the War, a great Empire, the Motherland, and her dependencies. To Britain we left all questions of foreign policy. We emerged from that struggle no longer a Motherland and her dependencies, but several great, scattered, self-governing nations, all inter-dependent, all welded together by an unseen tie, but with absolute freedom to work out our destinies in our own way. That has created difficulty. It is necessary for the people of the Empire to understand their new position."

In a policy speech with which he opened the campaign, delivered a few days before I left Australia, he discussed it further, and I read this passage because it is complimentary:—

"We are prepared now to play our part in the responsibility of Empire citizenship. One thing only do we ask—that in this assumption of responsibility we shall be treated as a partner and not as an appendage of Empire. The last great War involved us because Britain was a party to a treaty which guaranteed the integrity of Belgium. Australia was never consulted in regard to that treaty, and few of our citizens had ever heard of it. Never again must we be involved in a war arising out of foreign policy in which we have had no voice. We declare for the British Empire with all the privileges and responsibility that are involved, but within the Empire we demand freedom, independence"—

—he actually used that word,—

"independence, and the fullest consultation."

You may have noticed within the last week a cable dispatch in respect, I think, to this question before the League of Nations, in which he said that it was very necessary for the Australian point of view to be declared by Australian representatives, as they alone could speak with knowledge and authority.

As external policy depends on internal conditions it is an undoubted fact that Australia, while maintaining its national point of view and its national integrity, is probably prepared to go further than any of the other British Dominions in what might be called associating itself with the external policies of the United Kingdom. That is a matter of affection and sentiment, but it is also a matter of calculation. Australia is dominated by a great fear—the fear of the colored world. In the back of every Australian's mind is a belief that sooner or later they will have to defend Australia against the Japs or the Chinese, and they are quite prepared to make between two different states what might be called an offensive and defensive alliance. That is to say, subject to their right of consultation, I think they would be prepared to go a long way in identifying themselves with all the United Kingdom's foreign engagements, conditional upon Great Britain committing herself unreservedly by all her powers—financial, military and naval—to the defence of Australia's policy of a "White Australia."

Three years ago in London, Australia was very ardent in supporting the Singapore scheme, and Mr. Bruce made no bones about the fact that he wanted that project settled because he wanted the British Government committed to the defence of Australia against the time, as he said, when there might be a Government in England which would not be so ready to identify itself with the maintenance of those national problems of Australia. Our situation here is different, and that explains the difference in our policy. Because they are vulnerable they have a much more extensive defence system than we have. I cannot go into that, but you know they have their own navy. In Sydney Harbor we saw the "Sydney"—the ship that sunk the "Emden;" and they are spending $30,000,000 in building a navy, which includes two 10,000-ton cruisers. They have a mild form of compulsory military service. They have five skeleton armies, five divisions of infantry, two divisions of cavalry—really militia—and they are developing two aviation stations.

There is no conflict between the Australian parties as to the defence of Australia. The Labor Party is more isolationist than the Nationalist Party. They were not in favor of the Singapore scheme, and if they were to come into power they would probably carry out the projects for the defence of Australia that the Nationalist Party has outlined, and perhaps make them strong. They would probably maintain towards Great Britain's Foreign Policy a more detached position—my speculations are based upon their statements of policy, and statements of their leaders—and they would probably hold themselves free either to join in or keep out.

It seems to me this is the position of Australia towards the Empire. Remember, Australia is a nation—far more of a nation than Canada or South Africa. It is a real nation. Being a nation, and having that question settled, there is a matter of controversy between the two parties as to its relationship to what might be called the general foreign policy of the Empire. One party is prepared to practically identify itself with the external policy of the Empire in its entirety, subject to the understanding—which is of the very essence of the contract—that there would be no question of the power of the British Empire being invoked and applied to protect the doctrine of a "White Australia." The alternative view, held by the Labor Party, is that they will depend upon themselves primarily for the defence of Australia, and that they will go along with Great Britain in matters of common interest, and perhaps to many of Great Britain's commitments they will say, "This is a British proposition."

That is to say, I think the development in Australia is going to be pretty much what ultimately the development is going to be in Canada when we have our situation cleared up, everybody accepting the view that we are a nation. There will be a reasonable diversity of policy between two schools of thought—the one that will be prepared to be identified throughout—a hundred percent—with all the external commitments of Great Britain, on the ground that that will serve the interests of the country; and the other, which will take a more Nationalistic view, which will develop its own interest and strength, and hold itself free to cooperate on matters of common concern, and take a different line on matters of purely Canadian concern. I think that development is coming in Australia now, and ultimately, I think, it will come here.

SIR JOHN WILLISON voiced the thanks of the Club to the Speaker for his illuminating address.

A CANADIAN'S VIEW OF THE EMPIRE AS SEEN FROM LONDON

AN ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN S. McKINNON, DIRECTOR OF CANADIAN SECTION, BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION AT WEMBLEY, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Thursday, March 18, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

MR. McKINNON

Mr. President, members of the Empire Club, and guests—At the British Empire Exhibition there were no better friends than the Prince of Wales and the Royal Family. Every one of them did all that was possible, and through them much of the success came to the Exhibition. The grounds were located in the suburbs of London, about as far from the centre of the city as Mimico is from Toronto's City Hall. On motoring out there for the first time I was told of two roads—the New road and the Harrow road, When I had gone about three-quarters of the way I was puzzled because of the labyrinth of roads, and I asked a policeman, who had wit and wisdom and a sense of humour, "Is the New road the Harrow Road, or is the Harrow Road a new road?" He looked at me in amazement and said, "Not exactly; the best of my recollections tells me that it was built by Julius Caesar!"

What is this marvelous Empire of which we are all so proud, scattered as it is over the four quarters of the earth? The idea came to Lord Strathcona years ago that it would be a wonderful thing if the products of the Empire could be brought together, in order to find what the Empire contained, and whether it was self-sustaining. This idea went out to the various British Countries of the world—to Australia, Canada, South

Africa, Tanganyika, Sarawak and the eighty other countries forming the British Empire, asking their participation; and all over the world those governments got busy and poured into Wembley the products of their countries, proving that the British Empire was greater and mightier than any person had any previous idea of; that it was self-contained and self-supporting, and that the Empire is the greatest power in the world for good.

Special buildings were erected by the different countries for their exhibits, and when one entered the grounds by the main entrance a beautiful park was laid out before him. On the right was a colonnade leading to the Palace of Industry. To the left another leading to the Palace of Engineering, and later to the Palace of Housing and Transport, each of these buildings having been erected by the British Government, and covering over 15 acres. They were on a lake in regular formation. Next to the buildings for Migration was the Palace of Art. On one hand was the beautiful building of New Zealand and Malaya, and a little further on the building of Sarawak. I wonder if you know where Sarawak is, and what it produces? It comprises the north half of the Island of Borneo, where there is probably as much oil produced as in any part of the British Empire. At the other end of the lake is the magnificent building of India, and I never saw a finer sight than when standing in front of that Indian pavilion on a beautiful evening. One could not help but wonder at the ancient civilization of those people, which probably antedates our own, with a style of architecture that is purely their own. There were embodied in this building five characteristics regarding architectural beauty, each representing some part of that wonderful country, India. The Diwan in charge made a very favorable impression on the people, speaking excellent English, and he did much to change our ideas regarding that wonderful part of the British Empire.

Across the lake from the Palace of Engineering were the Canadian and Australian buildings. There were three of the former—the Government Building in the centre, with the Canadian National Railway on the one side and the Canadian Pacific Railway on the other, and just across the main roadway leading to the stadium was the fine building of Australia. Scattered in different parts of the grounds were Africa, the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Colombo; then on the other side East Africa, Tanganyika and the other parts of that marvelous part of the Empire; then Rhodesia, South Africa, as well as British West Indies—Jamaica, Bermuda, etc., those beautiful tropical countries.

All the countries vied with each other in a friendly way, showing what they were doing and the progress they had made. When everything was ready the King, Queen and Royal Family, in the presence of 120,000 people in the stadium, declared the Exhibition opened. I believe this was the greatest event the world has ever seen—the banding of the British Empire together. It is sometimes asked if Wembley paid. That does not seem to me a proper question, but I would say that Wembley showed a profit on operating expenses of £1,800 000. Of course that was not sufficient to cover the capital expenditure on the buildings, but we in Toronto know that we do not expect building costs at Exhibitions to be paid in one or two years. The British people recognized that this was the greatest attempt that any nation had ever made to show to itself and other peoples the potentialities and the wealth of that nation, and while it cost them a little money, as I heard Hon. J. H. Thomas say, "It is the cheapest and best money that the Empire ever spent."

In regard to the contents of those buildings, if you went to the Australian Building you would see wool and the fruit of the ground. In the Malayan you would find that their principal exports were rubber and tin; and I believe that our American friends have learned that the British Empire does produce some rubber. If you went to the New Zealand you would see cotton and wool and different other products. Then in the Indian and those of the different parts of Africa you would find tropical fruits and many other productions. A building that was particularly interesting was that of the Gold Coast, and you will be interested to know that its Governor was an Ontario boy, born near the little village of Winona—Sir Gordon Guggisberg—whom I had the pleasure of meeting on many occasions.

In the Canadian Building we endeavored to show the wealth of this country in natural resources and manufactured products; and I am glad to say that at the opening, when the flags went up on the stadium intimating that the Exhibition was open, our Canadian building was absolutely ready at that moment. The manufacturers and also the raw materials and natural products of Canada was very well arranged, and the consensus of opinion was that the Canadian Building was the outstanding feature of the Exhibition. It was my pleasure to be with the King and Queen on one occasion when they were viewing some of the exhibits, and they were particularly interested in the fruit, which was different from the ordinary conception of a fruit exhibit. The humanness of the Sovereigns was shown when the picture of the Prince of Wales' house in Western Canada was pointed out, when the Queen, touching her husband on the shoulder, and calling him by name, said, "That is David's house in Alberta." There was a human touch about that which seemed to appeal to those of us who were present.

There were 28,000,000 people who saw the Exhibition, and between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 children came from schools in groups of from 50 to 500. When we knew they were coming we always had someone to show them around and give the best possible impression we could of Canada. While there was no export business in those children, we could see in them the future possibilities of those who might make good citizens of this country.

The results of the whole Exhibition have been gratifying, and I will be surprised if the export trade of this country does not show very material increases during this and the coming years, largely due to the work done at the Exhibition. I would add that we should be particularly proud in this city of the Canadian National Exhibition. That Exhibition is doing as much or even more advertising for the City of Toronto and for Canada in every part of the world, as anything else that I know of.

Perhaps you will remember that the late Mr. Lloyd Harris, who was Canadian Commissioner in London during the War, stated on his return that his greatest experience there was his discovery of the British Empire. Mr. Harris had unusual opportunities during his stay in London to come in contact with people from all parts of that Empire, and my experience with the British Empire Exhibition gave me similar opportunities. Members of the Empire Club have made special studies of the Empire and various phases of its activity and are, therefore, more familiar with them than other Canadians who have, perhaps, not given so much attention to these subjects.

In this connection will you allow me to say that there is a work for this Club, and that the name "Empire Club" stands for more than the members realize. While you may discuss matters of a political nature, there are matters of trade and trade development that it is possible for you to take up, and you can do important work and accomplish tremendous good for Canada and the Empire.

The British Empire includes eighty countries, which occupy eleven and a half million square miles, or about one-quarter of the earth's surface; and it contains a population of 425 million people. The British Empire is different from all preceding Empires in that it is self-supporting. It grows and makes practically everything that its peoples need. It is unique in its constitutional structure, containing, in addition to the British Isles, India, self-governing dominions, crown colonies, protectorates, dependencies and mandated territories. All these have their own forms of government, and the whole constitutes an Empire,—one and indivisible.

Let us consider for a moment some of the factors which keep this Empire together.

The first is sentiment—loyalty to the King, to the Empire and its traditions. The War demonstrated how powerful that sentiment is.

The second is precedent. The British Empire has been a long time in the making. It has no written constitution. The arrangement which holds it together is flexible and is constantly changing as conditions change. It is amazing, when we think that the people of two small islands originated this Empire and have made it what it is. The colonial expansion, which marked the beginning of the Empire, started with the formation of the Virginia Company in what is now the United States, in 1609.

The third is self-interest. During the centuries that the British Empire has been growing, the various peoples constituting it, with one notable exception, have clung to the idea that their best interests lie within the Empire rather than outside of it. They believe that the united strength of the Empire can defend its citizens against aggression. Furthermore, they believe that their economic interests are also within the Empire.

The following table, published in the Commerce Reports of the United States, gives a summary of the external trade of 33 important countries for the fiscal year 1924–5 as $48,530,636,000. Included in these 33 countries are eight of the leading British countries, namely, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, British India, Ceylon and British Malaya, the total external trade of which amounted to $18,491,254,000. In other words, the eight British countries mentioned above represent 37.5 per cent of the total 33 important countries of the world:—

Country	Imports	Exports
Total 33 countries.	$24,998,457,000	$23,532,179.00
United States.	3,824,198,000	4,864,580,000
Canada.	807,565,000	1,088,912,000
Haiti.	18,474,000	18,492,000
Brazil.	369,548,000	434,226,000

Bulgaria	47,774,000	39,503,000
Czechoslovakia	495,600,000	539,250,000
Denmark	410,034,000	386,595,000
Esthonia	22,222,000	25,303,000
Finland	118,440,000	134,606,000
France	2,045,744,000	2,188,194,000
Germany	2,639,127,000	1,865,136,000
Hungary	149,319,000	123,100,000
Italy	1 024,624,000	681,633,000
Latvia	52,817,000	35,987,000
Lithuania	22,507,000	25,387,000
Netherlands	952,632,000	691,851,000
Poland	349,945,000	238,831,000
Russia	146,440,000	147,984,000
Sweden	384,817,000	355,590,000
Switzerland	480,316,000	401,258,000
United Kingdom	6,338,290,000	4,397,948,000
British India	831,528,000	1,416,016,000
British Malaya	404,677,000	462,196,000
Ceylon	115,385,000	149,953,000
Chosen	121,617,000	134,387,000
Japan	998,653,000	796,641,000
Philippine Islands	117,232,000	140,072,000
Siam	62,620,000	72,853,000
Australia	683,439,000	741,639,000
New Zealand	237,467,000	264,969,000
Algeria	162,637,000	93,769,000
Egypt	259,833,000	327,087,000
Union of South Africa	303,039,000	248,231,000

To illustrate another point; the following figures show the total external trade of the countries mentioned for the calender year, 1925:—

1. Total trade of the United Kingdom:

Imports	$6,442,319,273
Exports	4,516,912,126
Total	$10,959,231,399

2. Total trade of the United States:

Imports	$4,227,995,000
Exports	4,909,396,000
Total	$9,137,391,000

3. Total trade of Canada:

Imports	890,267,348
Exports	1,283,098,795
Total	$2,173,366,143

4. Canada's trade with United Kingdom:

Imports	162,108,180
Exports	493,408,584
Total	$655,517,764

5. Canada's trade with the United States:

Imports	579,746,080
Exports	482,129,059
Total	$1,061,875,139

I wish to draw your attention particularly to the following points in connection with the second table:—

1. That the total external trade of the United Kingdom is considerably greater than that of the United States.

2. That the total external trade of Canada makes a very creditable comparison.

3. That the total trade of Canada with the United Kingdom shows a very large balance in favour of Canada.

4. That Canada's total trade with the United States shows a balance favourable to the United States.

5. That Canada takes part of the balance resulting from her trading with the United Kingdom and spends it in the United States, I am sorry to say. Why cannot we get together and trade within the Empire, and keep the money within the family ?

It has been said in some quarters that British trade is on the decline. Gentlemen, that is absolutely wrong. The trade of England is larger than in pre-war days. But they are going through a period of re-adjustment At one time England had a very large part of the markets of the world, almost a monopoly, but in recent years Germany, France, the United States and Belgium have been coming along as industrial countries and cutting into the trade of England; but before long we will find Britain occupying the place that she did in pre-war days.

It is well to remember that the British Empire and the great trade which is carried on by its various members depends on the cooperation of other services. First and foremost, of course, is the shipping of the Empire and this, of course, includes the Navy which protects the trade routes. What would happen, for example, to our $493,000 000 worth of annual exports to the United Kingdom if an emergency arose which attempted to close the sea routes? What would happen to the wheat from Canada or the wool from Australia or the rubber from Malaya under such conditions? We need the British fleet to protect our Empire trade routes; and the navy will do it.

It was my privilege a few months ago to be invited to see the British Fleet at Spithead, in the Channel. Some of us expected to witness a marvelous sight. When we arrived at Portsmouth we were taken on a comparatively small ship, of which there were four, the first being occupied by the King and the Royal Family; the second contained some members of Parliament and the Government; the third was reserved for the overseas Dominions, and the fourth contained the Newspaper men. The British Navy was lined up in the shape of a horseshoe, and I have never seen, and never again expect to see, a more impressive or greater sight than I saw when steaming between the lines of the British Navy at Spithead. It brought to me, in a way that I never felt it before, the might and majesty of this great organization to which we are proud to belong, and which we call the British Empire.

Other factors in the promotion of Empire trade are the Empire Cable Service, the Trade Commissioner Service and the Postal Service.

I do not wish to touch on any controversial subjects, but it is not controversial to say that the question of customs tariffs cannot be divorced from Empire trade. Canada was the first British country to adopt the British preference, and this principle is now embodied in the fiscal systems of practically all other British countries, including that of the United Kingdom. These preferences, of course, are based on the policy of the local development of industry. For example, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, wish to develop their own manufacturing systems, and as time goes on other less-developed parts of the Empire will doubtless follow their example. It is generally conceded that it is not advisable to centralize manufacturing or any other form of production, but instead it is advisable that the various countries should develop their own resources as far as reasonably possible. This applies probably with more force to Canada than any other British country outside of the United Kingdom. The British Empire Exhibition illustrated clearly that Canada has developed industrially to a greater extent than any other British country outside of the United Kingdom.

It is accepted generally now that this principle is sound. Australia, for example, found that during the War she was almost isolated and found it difficult, therefore, to secure the manufactured goods she needed. Australia has determined to prevent a recurrence of this experience, and is now building up her manufactures.

This policy of local development is closely allied with the problem of migration. As in the past, the British Isles have a surplus of population. Formerly this surplus of migrants, which left the British Isles, had to seek agricultural or unskilled employment in other parts of the Empire. To-day the British Isles have few agriculturists to spare. They need them at home. The problem of migration, therefore, resolves itself largely into finding work for urban dwellers, skilled and unskilled, in other parts of the Empire. It seems reasonable, therefore, to say that if this surplus urban population of the British Isles is to be absorbed in other parts of the Empire, industries must be developed in other parts of the Empire to give them opportunities.

There is no subject more discussed to-day in London than unemployment insurance. In 1910 and 1911 an Act in regard to this matter was brought into existence. At that time it was unanimously agreed that it was the proper thing to do. The Act embodying unemployment insurance, made it compulsory for every employer, and also every employee earning under a stated amount, to pay into a fund for the above purpose. The amount was collected by the employer from the employee each week, and was paid into this fund in a weekly lump sum. This is continued at the present time.

During the period of the War, when great expansion in trade took place, there was a surplus in this fund amounting to the enormous sum of $150,000,000. After the War and during the period of depression, this extraordinary amount of money has become completely absorbed, and several times $150,000,000 extra has been required to pay the calls that have been made.

The term "unemployment insurance" is not often used at the present time, but it has come to be known as the "dole", and it is one of the most serious problems that the British Isles have to face. Employers and employees are still paying into this fund, but it is quite inadequate to meet the tremendous demands that are made upon it, and the deficiency has to be made up out of the taxes on the already over-burdened taxpayers.

These extra taxes are serious enough, yet even they might be borne, but the greatest difficulty is that it is undermining the morale of the people. A man, either married or single, who is on the "dole" draws 18/– per week, and a woman 15/– per week. In the case of a married man, an allowance is also made of 5/– for wife and 2/– for each child per week. A widow is also entitled to an allowance of 2/– for each child per week.

It is said that the Act is abused in very many instances, and that many are on the "dole" who are not entitled to it. While the amount paid to the individual each week is not large, the aggregate is enormous, and as I have said, it is demoralizing to the people who receive it, inasmuch as once they have received the "dole" they do not desire to obtain work; and it is in this way that the morale is affected.

The manner in which the "dole" affects Canada is readily discernible. We are most anxious in Canada to secure a greater population, but a man who has once received the "dole" argues, "why should I leave England, where the 'dole' is obtainable, and migrate to Canada, where it is not to be secured?" Before he had been "on the dole" he would probably have gone to Canada and hustled a bit, and in all probability become a good citizen of the Dominion. This is one of the ways in which this system is interfering with the morale of many in the British Isles, and also with the migration policy of Canada.

During the two years that I spent in the British Isles, at the Exhibition, I naturally had many opportunities to discuss Canada with men prominent in all departments of public, financial and commercial life. It was very gratifying to me, as a Canadian, to see the extraordinary interest in Canada that was manifested by the people of the British Isles. Contrary to popular opinion, the British people know a great deal about Canada, and know more now than they did previously, as the British Empire Exhibition has added very materially to their knowledge. This Exhibition was a great national effort, and was, I think, crowned with complete success. It brought Canada home to the people of the British Isles. It showed them that Canada was a great agricultural country. It also showed them that Canada has made wonderful progress in manufacturing. It displayed the wealth of the fisheries, the orchards, the mines and the forests of this country, and all these Canadian products were viewed by millions of people not only from the British Isles and other parts of the

British Empire, but from foreign countries as well. I believe that great material results will be experienced in the trade and commerce of this country for many years, as the result of this Exhibition. I found that interest in Canada, as a future home for British people and as a field for investment for British capital, is great and is constantly growing. Now that political conditions are stabilized in the United Kingdom and trade is revived, we can expect to see large sums of British money coming to Canada to help develop the resources of our country. These investors naturally expect that their capital will secure a fair return, and that it will be reasonably safe.

Arising from the British Empire Exhibition, there is a strong sentiment in the British Isles in favour of purchasing Empire products. As you probably know, a Bill has been recently introduced into the British Parliament requiring that articles for sale shall be marked "Empire manufactures," or "Empire products," if they are produced in a British country, and "Foreign Manufactures" or "Foreign Products" if they are produced in a foreign country. There is no doubt that "Empire Products" and "Empire Manufactures" are displacing a considerable volume of foreign manufactures and foreign products in the British markets; and if Canadians will take full advantage of this sentiment, they can increase their trade with the United Kingdom. But to obtain the greatest possible advantage, particular attention should be given to grading, selection of qualities, marking and branding, and also that the British importer shall be sure of continuous supplies.

There is a matter to which I would like to refer—the matter of titles. I believe I have been quoted in the newspapers, and in the case of those journals which correctly quoted my remarks I have nothing at all to withdraw. I would like to tell you exactly my ideas on this subject. A matter of importance in England is that of titles. This is viewed in an entirely different light in Canada from what it is in England. We are all aware of the attitude in Canada towards titles, but in the

Mother Country the system is so closely interwoven with the history and traditions of the people that it is most difficult for them to understand the views taken by Canadians; and if some modification could be made whereby some prominent Canadians permanently residing in England might be allowed to accept titles it would be beneficial to both countries, and would give a greater prestige to this Dominion. While titles may have been wrongly awarded in some instances, on the whole they are bestowed by the Sovereign to a subject because of some outstanding or signal service the recipient has performed in the Empire. I have never advocated titles in Canada, but I am endeavoring to interpret to the people of Canada the attitude taken by the English people.

We are all proud of England, and when one is on the Atlantic Ocean he hears people from Canada and Australia speak about "Going home," for the fires that were kindled in England, Scotland and Ireland have been transplanted to other parts of the world, and it is lovely to hear people say, "We are going home to the Old Land." We in this great country, Canada, with its marvelous future, its great responsibilities, its territory stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in the basin of which are teeming millions of people, practically constitute the key-stone of the British Empire, with its population of about 400,000,000 people of the colored race, with only 65,000,000 of whites, and I hope we will measure up to those responsibilities which fall upon us.

We are face to face with some tremendous problems, but as Canadians, why can we not have unity from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and get together, like the people of New Zealand, and present one solid Canadian front to the world? Our trade would expand, our prestige would increase, and I have no doubt that we would take our place—as we have already done—and assume our full share of responsibility in the problems of the great British Empire.

PROGRESS IN CIVIL AVIATION

AN ADDRESS BY SIR SEFTON BRANCKER, K.C.B., DIRECTOR OF CIVIL AVIATION IN THE BRITISH AIR MINISTRY.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Monday, March 22, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the Speaker.

SIR SEFTON BRANCKER

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am very much honoured in being asked to address this Club, because Toronto has rather led the way in Canadian Aviation. When I was here in 1918 Ontario boasted of several airplane grounds — Armour Heights, Leaside, Camp Borden. It also had a very flourishing factory here which turned out a quantity of aircraft, and a cadet school at the University. Now the Ontario Government has led the way in this enterprise in employing an air service for forest protection and survey. It has the biggest organization of that nature in the British Empire, and I think probably the biggest in the world.

In England my chief concern in civil aviation is the building up and improving of Imperial communication. We have been at this problem of air transport since the end of the War. In the seven and a half years since the War we have laboured under a good many handicaps. We have had four changes of government, involving six changes in the system of administration, and the control and development of transport. We were also troubled by international complications which prevented us from flying long distances, and you known we have the worst climate in the world from the aviation point of view. During that period, however, we have arrived at a definite policy. We have amalgamated the old small air transport companies into one big company called "Imperial Airways." We have been promised a total annual subsidy of £1,000,000 spread over ten years on a sliding scale, with £137,000 this year. For that we demand a certain minimum mileage, and promise not to subsidize anybody else within Europe against them. We also demand that all the aircraft and crews shall be British. Beyond that we do not interfere. They can go where they like, and develop their lines in whatever direction they please. Trade and commerce seem to offer the best results, and at this moment they have lines from London to Paris, Zurich to Cologne, Cologne to Central Europe, and a line from Amsterdam which has been running to Berlin. That is the present position in Europe. I have always counted upon the European cross-country services as a series of experiments in Imperial communication.

Before telling you what we are trying to do in that line I will roughly outline some of the results of our seven and a half years' work from England. It is a platitude that any form of transport, to be a success, must be safe, reliable, run on time, and comparatively economical.

Regarding speed, since beginning these regular services in 1919 we have flown over 5,000,000 miles, equal to 200 times around the equator. During that time we carried about 70,000 passengers across the Channel, and 2,000 tons of cargo. There have been only four fatal accidents involving the death of pilots during that period. I think we have proved that air transport properly organized and properly administered is really a very safe means of progress—safer, to my mind, than a good many railway trains in Europe today. I am afraid that sometimes the aviation people themselves are rather apt to frighten the public about flying. A remember an amusing case of a Colonial Office official who had to proceed to Bagdad, and was told to go by air from Ameer, which is beyond Jerusalem across the desert, which would save three weeks travelling time. He never had flown, fearing it was unsafe. It was a muddy day, and at the airdrome, the machines were having trouble in getting off. The official became fussy, and said to the pilot, "Who is responsible for the machine if it is overloaded?" The pilot replied, "I don't know; you had better ask the commanding officer." The official repeated his question to that officer, who very grimly replied, "Well, that is settled at the inquest."

As to reliability, lately we have made the run with 96 per cent of reliability on a schedule programme during the summer, and 87 per cent in winter. There you have a thirteen per cent measure of unreliability, which is not good enough for carrying mails, and so on. That is the first thing that we have to try to improve. In analyzing these figures we find that two-thirds of that unreliability is due to bad weather, in other words bad visibility, because there is very little in the quality of any aircraft except in ability to see. The other third is represented by mechanical defects, by which I do not mean engineering failure, or machine breaking down, but delay caused by the machine not being ready, adjustments not having been made, and so on. I will later show how we are getting around that thirteen per cent.

In regard to economy, it is very hard to get down to dependable figures. So far as I can make out we have arrived at the point where with the measure of traffic that we have—about 1,000,000 a year—we are carrying them at the rate of about one dollar per ton-mile at 90 miles an hour,—that is covering everything, insurance, overhead charges, advertising, etc. That is rather a high rate.

We are working now at home on three broad lines for improving the position. First, we are trying to improve our ground organization in order to make the service more reliable. Secondly, and most important, we are trying to develop better aircraft and better engines in order to reduce the cost of maintenance and operation, carrying bigger pay loads at the same price. and also incidentally increasing reliability. Thirdly, we are laying ourselves out to educate the public in order to increase traffic because, after all, this form of transport must depend upon public opinion if it is eventually to succeed. It is no use making a public utility that the public cannot use.

Taking the ground organization first, our difficulties in Europe, and to some extent here as regards reliability, are fog and very low clouds and unseen storms. In order to avoid this trouble we are improving our radio communications very considerably. No aircraft will now leave London to cross the Channel unless it has wireless that is working properly. We are developing a system of lighting to make landing in fog possible. Last November we carried out some experiments with this lighting by means of captive balloons which we pulled up and down during the dense London fog, and the results of that and some of the latest wireless experiments lead us to claim that in two or three years we shall have eliminated a large amount of that thirteen per cent of unreliability, and will have brought our winter flying up to the standard of our summer flying, and the summer flying, I hope, to something like 100 per cent instead of 96 per cent. In Australia they have a good climate, and there is a weekly service from Perth, in the north, towards Fort Darwin, and for ten months they maintain 100 per cent reliability. That is partly due to the excellent climate and partly to the fact that if you are giving weekly service for a long distance, small delays and mechanical defects do not mean such a loss of time that you would call it unreliable.

Our next line of progress is better aircraft. The British Government is to-day spending a good deal of money ordering experimental commercial aircraft. A great many opponents of aviation say that this is wrong in principle, and that the trade should grow up naturally We think it is the only way to keep development going. There is plenty of invention in designs, and in military aircraft because it is felt that if a principal

Scout is produced they ,will get large orders; where as on the commercial side air transport industry is so small and feeble that there is no chance of big orders yet. These will come later. Therefore the Government has taken upon itself to spend money in technical progress while the aircraft industry is slowly getting itself together and becoming strong enough to support its own research and experimental work.

The lines we are taking to get this better aircraft is to look at the operating costs, and I find that the engine maintenance cost is 44 per cent of the total, the maintenance of the aircraft itself, 20%; the fuel bill was 30%, and its remaining 6% cover the flying pay, odds and ends, and insurance, which we think is an overhead one. Taking the engine cost, 44%; we found 50% of the cost under these three heads: water trouble, 28%; valve, 19%; oil trouble, 10%. You have looked into the value of air-cooled engines in this country. So far as valve and oil troubles are concerned it is only a matter of a little patience and money. Thus we shall have reduced the maintenance of our engines to less than half what it is to-day.

We are going out for all-metal aircraft, which will have two advantages; first, the superintendence will be lower, because they will not need so much looking after and training out; secondly, metal construction has proven to be lighter than wood. We will thus be able to reduce our maintenance cost and also increase our paying load. There are other matters which will help us to get a better paying load for the same operation. A very big item will be the change to heavy oil instead of the petrol, and the fuel bill will go down with a bump.

We are making progress in obtaining low rates for insurance. Up to the present time insurance has fluctuated a great deal, from about 12% to about 25% on the cost of the machine. Just before I left England I heard some of the latest quotations. One was 17% for the single-engine machine, and only 7% for the three-engine machine. So that you will see the latter figure is an enormous advantage for commercial measurements.

The next question is that of more traffic—educating the public. The British people are very conservative. They do not take to aviation with the rapidity that most of us enthusiasts think they ought. I dare say your people to-day are more enterprising; there is more ginger in the air, and more progress and enterprise altogether. But I must tell you a story of what happened at an airplane meeting to indicate the opinion of the man in the street, and his attitude towards aviation, which is the general attitude of a great many men and women in England to-day. The incident happened near an airdrome in the south of England. A nice old lady was leaning over the garden wall near the cottage, watching the airplanes making their movements. A friend of aviation wanting to make aviation popular, said to her, "Good morning, mother, are you enjoying yourself?" She replied, "Oh no, I am not." He said, "How is that?—This is very interesting." She said, in reply, "It is like this; ever since I was a little girl when a bumblebee got up my drawers, I have hated them things that buzzed."

Traffic prospects are promising. The number of passengers who crossed the Channel in the last four years was:—1922, 12,200; 1923, 15,500; 1924, 17,500; 1925, just on 20,000. August is our paying month when we get most people in, and in 1923 we carried 2,000; in 1924, 2,600; in 1925, 3,200. So you see that in spite of changes of policy and other difficulties we are progressing, and the public is making increasing demands.

We have not done much yet about mail delivery, because the men have not been able to go far enough. You hear much more of the mail line from New York to San Francisco, which is a very fine line. I think the French have the best in Europe, the service from Toulouse along the east coast of Spain down to Coseblanco, French Morocco, a considerable distance. Their records of letters carried in four years up to 1925 run—1,500,000, 7,000,000, 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 letters.

So that you see air transport is coming into its own, and beginning to pay.

Freight has been, up to date, rather secondary, but there is no doubt that the carriage of freight by air is becoming more and more common, During the last two years we have been carrying ladies' dresses and hats—of course these are worth considerably more than their weight in gold and they go out of fashion in about ten days; samples of every sort, including wine, films, drugs and medicines; fruit and flowers, etc. Then, curiously enough, beets which were formally imported from Holland, are being imported from Germany by air, Motor cycles and tobacco are being exported to Germany.

And what is especially interesting is that it is becoming clear that aircraft is the ideal means for shipping bullion. Insurance rates are lower because the risk is for a shorter time, and because our records in action are extremely good. Secondly, interest is saved by accelerating the passage of the bullion from one bank to the other. It seems to me that in Canada, with its gold developments in three or four different spots, you may eventually find that the bullion will be carried best and most economically by air. This ought to be a great incentive to the creation of air transport in this country.

Some idea of how traffic is increasing is the fact that at one period last summer, after the silk duties were put on, at Croydon, the air port of London, the customs office was taking £7,000 a week on customs duties on silk good imported from France.

The statements I have made indicate the lines of progress we are working on in order to get better reliability and more traffic. In working it out on paper I have concluded that in the next five years or a little longer we shall have reduced operating costs from $1.00 to about 50 cents or 60 cents per ton mile; then it will be very nearly a commercial proposition, and will not be in need of any artificial assistance from the Government.

Another method of getting the general interest of the public in air transport is the formation of light airplane clubs. We have formed fine now in the big centres in

England—London, Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle Leeds— and I think there are others springing up. We have given these clubs a grant of £2,000 for the purchase of airplanes, and have promised them £1,000 a year for two years to maintain them. Of course all this money comes back to the aircraft industry, as it is not allowed to be used for anything but airplanes and their engines. These clubs have proved great successes. They have started flying power, We give a bonus of £10 for every pilot turned out, and already a number of pilots have been developed. There is keen competition all along the line, and numbers are waiting for membership. The clubs have doubled their receipts by contributions from private members, so that it looks as if this movement will produce great results all through the country. The great thing is that the Government is superintending as little as possible; it hands us the money, then we are allowed to do what we like. There are no military restrictions or military liability, but anybody who gets his pilot service at any of the clubs can be a professional member of the Air Force Reserves, and in that capacity get a lot more training at Government expense. We hope this is going to get the people into the air very much in future.

Coming again to Imperial communication; for some time an air service to India has been mooted; it was the first obvious step. Canada is too difficult at present, as you have too much sea, whereas in going to India one can hop from land to land, and there are not a great many expanses of water to be covered. About eighteen months ago I managed to get a small sum of money and authority to go out to India by air and have a look at the route. We were away three or four months, and I had that excellent pilot, Cobham. We came back as we went, with the same machine, the same engine, the same crew, and we carried everything that we wanted with us, even to the extent of a spare propeller. We got a few engine spares at one place, but otherwise it was just like a ship leaving London and going to Rangoon and coming back. The only thing we depended for on the way was fuel and our own food; otherwise we lived on what we could carry. That trip made me very much more optimistic. When with a small single-engine machine, which really was of an obsolete type and without any organization in front of you, it ought to be perfectly simple with some modern machines and a proper ground organization to run the whole of that line with regularity and perfect safety.

Now we are going a step further. After a lot of negotiations we got the Imperial Airways to a new contract for five years, and next Christmas time they will start aircraft between Cairo, through Bagdad to Karachi and India. The idea of taking that first Imperial trip was because Europe to-day is so difficult that one cannot lay down a clear policy and go ahead with certainty. There are disagreements between France and Germany, and we are not allowed to fly across Germany at present. We have two good steamship services per week at Cairo as a feeder to the air service, and from Cairo we cross to Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and Persia to India, which is comparatively easy. Egypt is only too happy that we should fly. Palestine, of course, is a mandated place. Iraq is only too keen to help. Although difficulties with Persia were suggested, they have done everything in their power to make things easy, and in addition to these facilities we hope for a very much better climate than we would have in Europe. We are given considerable subsidy for that five years, and we hope the Indian Government will then build up their Karachi route across India to Rangoon, which is perfectly easy, and perhaps it will give them some money. When the service reaches Rangoon the responsibility passes back to the Imperial Government, and we can even carry on from Rangoon to Singapore, and to Australia along the Dutch Islands.

Meantime we have our contract with the Imperial Airways in Europe, and they are going to try and get their way through by degrees and join up with Cairo or at some point in Palestine. They have ordered a new fleet of big ships with three air-cooled engines to operate on that route. These machines should be ready towards the fall, and I hope that the first service may open somewhere about the first of December.

Turning to airships, which, from the Imperial point of view, actually affect Canada more closely than airplanes, we are going on as quickly as we can, but are somewhat delayed by these dreadful financial cuts and economy committees, etc., at home. We are actually starting to build two really big ships, one by the government and the other by private enterprise, with a capacity of 5,000,000 cubic feet, which is considerably more than twice the size of any heretofore. They will be fitted to carry 100 passengers, with sleeping accommodation as good, probably better, than Pullman cars, a lounge in which those hundred passengers can sit at one time, a dining-room in which fifty can dine, and even a small smoking room. These ships are designed to fly from London to India in 100 hours, with possibly one stop; the more enthusiastic say a stop will not be necessary. We are building the base at Karachi and the temporary halting place at Ismalia, Egypt. Neither of these is selected from the commercial point of view: Ismalia is chosen because we can put a up mosque there without any question, and Karachi is selected because it has the best climate, and we want to give the experiment the best possible chance in the earlier stages. The two ships are of different types. The Government ship is to be built of structural steel, and equipped with heavy engines. The private ship is to be built of duralumin and equipped with engines operated by a combination of kerosene and hydrogen, which is a new departure. Between the two we will be making a very important experiment.

If we can make that experiment a success and give proof that there is something in it, we hope that some big commercial organization will take those ships over, preferably one of the big ship companies, and extend that service from India on to Australia. Probably the final line for a thing of that sort would be via Egypt, and Colombo in Ceylon, thence to Singapore, and then on to Australia, touching at those four points; and at Egypt, Colombo and Singapore airplane lines would radiate. Already we are organizing this route across the Syrian desert to Iraq and Persia, and from Singapore up to the China coast, and from the west coast of Australia right across the continent—in fact they already have the services running there.

There is little doubt that we can prove this airship experiment if enterprising persons will construct airplanes between London and Canada. Our big airport, 50 miles north of London, is already being constructed; the old small station is being modified at present.

If we can get the kind of airship that gives about 60 miles an hour it will mean that, measuring flying as against the time taken by present methods, we would get Canada somewhere two-thirds of the way across the Atlantic towards the Old Country; Australia will be up where Somaliland is, India will be where Egypt is, and England would be near French Morocco. I leave you to imagine the rest.

The whole question of mutual understanding and cooperation depends on personal contact, and you may write letters and telegrams and official correspondence and all the rest of it, but they will not do nearly as much good as ten minutes' talk; that is my experience in life —that you have to get to see the man before you can really deal with him.

There are many questions asked: Will airships interfere seriously with shipping and trade? I think not. Taking the case of Australia, shipping takes six weeks to get there, and six weeks back, and if a passenger spends three weeks there it is a long time. Air service means that Australia is only 12 days from England—and it took me 12 days to struggle across the Atlantic on this present trip in bad weather. The air service will reduce the time so that you would have double the number of people coming out to Australia, because men in a hurry cannot come now. The result of course would prove, by increased visiting, that there would be increased trade, and the ordinary transport would be carried by ships. Therefore they would benefit. I think it would be the same in Canada; if more people could get here in 48 hours instead of the considerable time it now takes, you would get at once an increase of traffic between the two countries along all lines, and your people would get the benefit, and all lines of shipping would be increased.

I am proud to say I represent the British Empire on the International Commission on Airplane Navigation. We have been sitting now for three years, and there are 15 or 16 members of that Commission from all parts of the world, most of them from Europe. It has been a most happy family. We have many clashing interests, but personal interests have been sunk, and on every question we have arrived at a satisfactory solution, to which everybody has agreed; and the more I see of it the more I am convinced that air-flying is going to do more towards the peace of Europe than anything else, as it develops and goes on. There is an extraordinary camaraderie in this matter which doesn't exist in any other walk of life, and the very fact that you can fly from one capital to another without being held up by horrid customs difficulties or any difficulties on the frontier, is really a far-reaching psychological fact. I have often said that as far as military aviation went, all my dreams came true, and I hope also that I shall live long enough to see some of my dreams in air transport come true, and the greatest dream of all is closer communication between the various parts of the Empire, so we can all meet and learn to understand one another, and go on co-operating to keep the peace of the world and prosperity.

OPTIMISM VS PESSIMISM

AN ADDRESS BY H. M. TORY, M.A., D.SC., LL.D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
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MR. TORY

I suppose if anyone in Canada can claim to be a Canadian, I can. I was born in the Maritime Provinces: I lived in Quebec for many years; those that I love dearest are in this province; and I have lived for a great many years in Western Canada; and I think I know even the Pacific Coast province very well. So that from that standpoint I think I can be a Canadian, and I will say this that I have conquered the habit of thinking of myself as anything but a Canadian. That is, I am not from Ontario, I am not from Nova Scotia and I refuse to be regarded as a Maritime Province man: I am a Canadian. I have ceased long since to think of myself as being located in a province, in the ordinary sense of the word.

There was a special reason why I selected the subject upon which I am going to speak to you today, and that reason grew out of the great Winnipeg conference that I had the good fortune of attending some time ago. It was the result of a conversation I overheard between two gentlemen walking down the street in the evening. I was not eavesdropping, but I was walking behind them and they were talking quite loudly and I could not help hearing what they were saying. They were speaking about some resolutions that had been presented by some gentlemen from another part of Canada, and one made the remark to the other, "The difficulty with those fellows is that one minute they are telling us what great fellows they are, and the next minute they are shouting about their difficulties." And I just said to myself, these two gentlemen that are making these remarks were probably, under similar circumstances, capable of doing exactly the same thing themselves, for if there is a characteristic we as Canadians have, it is the characteristic of boosting at one time and knocking at another, and our boosting and knocking are both founded on—you will forgive me—"ignorance and prejudice." And we have not shown a very great zeal in our effort to get at the kind of knowledge that will stimulate and regulate our boosting and our knocking along legitimate lines. That is not said in any offensive spirit; I am speaking to myself as well as speaking to you. That is a feeling I have had as I have gone up and down this country a great deal, and I thought I would give expression to it to-day. Now if you want a justification of that statement, I think that we can look back over the events of the last six months and find a fair justification for it. If you will look back for the past three years you will find it more intensely justified. I am going to speak quite frankly and freely, and I want you to understand I am not talking politics —I never do—but I think there are a few things one ought to have the privilege of expressing a judgment about, even if they touch upon things about which public men are talking.

When we speak of ourselves as Canadians there is another fact that stares us in the face, whenever we undertake to make comparisons with other people. That fact is that we are living side by side with one of the greatest nations of the world, a nation which has, by a set of circumstances which we need not discuss here, been fortunate in her economic position, and in almost every other way, so far as her outer life is concerned; and we have rather acquired the habit of thinking of ourselves in relation to the United States rather than thinking of ourselves in relation to other parts of the world. Now personally, I have been teaching myself to do this: to think of Canada as a young, rising, aspiring country, not yet having quite found her place, and destined without question to find it ultimately.

And when we come to make comparisons of ourselves, I give it to you as my judgment that we are not fair to ourselves when we think of ourselves only in relation to a great nation like the one that lies at our door. We should take the broader vision and look out upon the world in which we live and see ourselves in the larger relation of the great world of which we form a part. And it is to stimulate your thought in that direction that I have chosen the topic I have taken for discussion to-day.

In order to get at the heart of the subject, I am going to ask three questions, and I shall try to answer those three questions. Taken as individual questions they are very simple ones, and perhaps you will, at first blush, think I am discussing a subject that does not require any discussion at all; but I think that the sum-total of the discussion that comes out of asking and answering those questions will be considered at least interesting to you, if not of any great value. The three questions I ask myself are these:

First,—Have we in Canada the natural conditions which go to make a civilization? That is a simple and fair question to ask.

Secondly,—Have we these things in such abundance as to give us a fair chance of success in competition with the world? That is a fair question, too. I do not think we can discuss the question of whether a man ought to be an optimist or a pessimist without answering those two questions.

Then, if I am able to answer the first two questions in the affirmative,—How are we going to realize upon our inheritance?

You will see that I have laid out for myself a task of some dimensions in undertaking to ask and answer those three questions. When I undertake to answer the first one the answer can be very simple. I begin by asking this, What does history teach us are necessary things to make a civilization? What is it that a nation requires in order to develop a civilization of a substantial character? I answer in the following terms, and here

I am drawing upon the facts of history that as are common to you as to me.

The first is, land upon which food supplies can be grown. No nation in the world has ever achieved eminence that had not its foundation in agriculture. In the modern world it may be possible that a great industrial nation might live without agriculture, especially if war could be eliminated. But in the building up and developing of nationhood, agriculture has in the past always been a basis.

Secondly, a climate suitable to the production of necessary supplies and to the maintenance of a healthy population, under reasonable conditions of life. In the long run people, if they could, have moved away from conditions that were not suitable for the development of a healthy life; and the wreck of many efforts to establish new communities is found to be due to the fact that climate and conditions did not make permanency possible.

Thirdly, natural resources of mine and forests capable of supplying the necessities, and with a surplus capable of being turned into wealth.

Fourthly, a country large enough and varied enough to support a population sufficient to create the internal competition which is necessary to make a general culture possible. That is to say, a small country with a limited group of people very rarely develops a culture that we could call a civilization of its own.

Fifthly, the parts of the country to be so situated as to make communication easy and direct.

Sixthly, a people virile enough to use what they have, intelligent enough to make themselves independent and progressive enough not to fall behind in the race for and the use of knowledge. I mention this last because the surest road to perdition for any man or any nation is the road of ignorance and self-assurance.

Now I think I need not enter into much discussion of the first question. There is no doubt we have in Canada all these natural things in fair abundance. No argument on that is necessary. We have the land; we have the climate; we have produced nine millions of healthy people in it, living happily,—I believe the happiest people in the world, We have the forest and the mine and the other things I have mentioned. The only question then is the second one, Have we these things in such abundance as to make for us an assured place in competition with the outer world? Now I propose to spend just a few minutes making that comparison with you.

Let us in the first place take our lands. I said in the beginning that I prefer to think of Canada as a young aspiring nation with a future before her, with everything stimulating her to aggressive action in the world of affairs. But I am going to begin by making a comparison with some of the older countries. Leave out all the great northern part of Canada with its ice-bound shores, and take only that portion of the country to-day which the surveyor and the agriculturist have marked out as being suitable for the production of agricultural products, for field crops and meadow and pasture land. Just take that alone; we have more land of that sort than is found in France and Germany, in Belgium, in Holland, in Norway and Sweden, Denmark and Great Britain, all put together. And they are supporting 160 million people within the area I have mentioned in Europe. Before the war Germany was producing 75% of all the supplies necessary for the upkeep of 66 millions of people, and that on an area no greater and no richer than some of our great western provinces. I think that one need not argue further with respect to the possession of land values that go to make a civilization. We are producing now in one of the provinces of Canada sufficient wheat to feed thirty millions of people, and we have hardly scratched the surface of the three great western wheat-producing provinces in this country. Well, when we pass from the older countries to the newer countries—you will say to me at once, Germany is a developed country. Just so, she could not support 66 million people if she were not a developed country. I think the joy of our situation is that we younger men of this generation have an outlook on a great country undeveloped, with resources lying at our hands for development. I think if there is one thing that has been an impediment to us it had been the very wealth of the things we knew we possessed. Many of our set-backs have been due to the fact that we have striven to grab so much of the wealth for our own generation, that should belong to the generations that are to come, that we have handicapped ourselves in the business of life by overcapitalizing our efforts; and like every great business that has too much overhead, when the time of calamity comes, suffering necessarily follows, as night follows day.

But I would like you to think of us in comparison with the newer countries that are developing like ourselves. I look abroad in the world and I see the countries awaiting development are portions of Africa that Britain has under her possession, Australia, New Zealand, certain parts of Asia that are under British mandate, and still open for at least British effort. Then when we look at the outside nations of the world, that are not under the flag, I would take countries like the Argentine, and portions of Russia, and I would make my comparison in relation to these. There are two great advantages we have over all these countries I have mentioned. The first is that we are nearer the centres of population from which flow the currents of human life that help to develop a country. That is a tremendous advantage. The overflow from us at the moment is going to the south; the time is not far distant when that overflow will come our way. But in any case the great populations of the earth that are now pressing upon the shores of the Atlantic to get out are looking in this direction. Our nearness makes it necessary for us, not to open our doors too wide, but to have an even restriction on the movement of population. And the other advantage over any other of these countries is that our lands are not occupied by inferior races.

Now that may seem like a strange thing for me to say, but I regard as one of our greatest assets, as compared with Africa, the fact that we have not to deal with great populations—with all due respect I use the term inferior races, races of men different from ourselves, incapable of developing the kind of civilization or participating in any real measure in the kind of civilization for which Anglo-Saxons have always stood.

I will give you an illustration. Germany was fifty years in German East Africa. When Britain took over the mandate for that country there were two thousand whites and ten million blacks. Can you conceive of a European civilization being built up under those circumstances? Absolutely impossible. The same thing is true of the great part of Africa that is now under the British mandate. However, the call is not for the white man in the ordinary routine sense of the word; the call is for the administrator, the man capable of undertaking large affairs, who has directive capacity; and the genius of Great Britain is that she has shown herself capable of adding to these other things that administrative capacity and that capacity for just treatment that has given confidence to native races all over the world.

One of the secrets of many of the treaties that have been made between the colored races of Asia and Africa and Great Britain has been the fact that when it came to the necessity of having somebody be their guide, they preferred Great Britain to any other nation because of this peculiar quality I have spoken of. Now there is just one thing about tropical countries that gives me a little anxiety,—I am speaking now in comparison with Canada—and that is the work that is now going on in developing the resources of these tropical countries and the scientific work that is going on that to make them countries where white men can live.

The British Government sent out a commission to Africa to study the economic possibilities of Africa. Thac ommission made a return and said there were, under British rule in Africa, natural resources equal to the natural resources of the United States at the beginning of their career. And forthwith Great Britain provided thirty-five million pounds to begin the development of Africa. Side by side with that there have been put into operation forces for the scientific control of the diseases of Africa, that ultimately may make Africa a white man's country. The only fear I have is that because of our rather exclusive attitude towards people coming from the old land to this country, we may some day find ourselves faced with the fact that British capital and British intelligence have sought a door of opportunity in a country like Africa; and knowing the British character as we do, we know they are not likely to turn back if they once set their foot on that path. It seems to me that that is the only danger Canada has in her future development in comparison with countries like Africa.

Then I turn toward Australia and the same thing applies to a limited extent. It is far away. It has the complications that I have mentioned with regard to races, although not so great as they are in Africa. But in any case the door of opportunity looks wider open here than it does in Australia. The difficulty of our development is much less than hers.

Then I will take the Argentine, which is one of our great competitors; there is no doubt about that. The development of the wheat growing areas in the Argentine, corresponding to the great prairies of the North American continent, opens the doors of competition. But this fact remains: Argentina is likely to remain permanently the home of the Latin races, and it is not likely to be a country into which there will be a large flow of the Nordic races, of the people of northern Europe. Our door is wider open, the opportunity more readily available, and the conditions more suitable to the people of the northern races if we are reasonable in our attitude toward their coming and going.

When we come to the question of climate, I suppose I will be forgiven for saying we have an abundance of climate. That is to say, we can suit everybody's taste. From the Atlantic to the Pacific we have great varieties. We have the rather cold and austere climate of Ontario, and the mild, banana-like climate of Alberta, and on the Pacific coast conditions most suitable to people who, having advanced in life, think they would like to pass their days under almost sub-tropical conditions. I want to emphasize this fact, that we have developed in Canada a race of men, nine millions now of us, as wholesome, as vigorous, as strong and as healthy, and, I believe, more happy than that of almost any race under the sun. A good deal has been made of our severe climate by those who did not want to promote Canada's interest. One never likes to use the *argumentum ad hominem*, but I did it once. I was speaking to some English friends and they spoke of the awful climate we had in Canada and what an unhealthy country it might be. The man who was saying this was a rather emaciated fellow, and I said, "Look at me; do I look like a fellow that is going to die soon? I was born and brought up there and I have lived in nearly every province; it is the healthiest country in the world." There was no come-back to that.

I now come to this fact that Canada ranks high in her mines and minerals and forests. There was a time when we spoke of Northern Ontario and the disconnecting link, and I used to wonder whether some day we would drift apart because of that barrier of the northern shield that comes down across and separates us, one from another. What are the facts to-day? The geologist, the mineralogist, the chemist, and the great business executives have gone into that country, and to-day it looks as if one of the greatest sources of wealth Canada has, lie in that thing that at one time looked like a barrier between the east and the west. I am confident as time goes on, with the knowledge we have now of the possibilities in this great northern section, that here will lie one of the places where great development will take place in forest and mine. The one thing we should be on our guard about is that we do not allow these things to be wasted, and that as far as possible we conserve them to our own advantage and to the advantage of our children who will come after us.

Then we have this transportation system. I know, Mr. Chairman, it is a very dangerous thing to talk about the transportation system. As a matter of fact, if you judge this one item by my definition of transportation —easy access between the parts—we have not got that in Canada. We have had to make an artificial transportation system, for part of our country anyway. Our friends to the south under similar conditions have developed their transportation system, not along the lines nature laid out, but along lines they had to mature and develop to meet the conditions of settlement. There is no doubt we overdid the transportation system at one time, and that is one of the things that makes us a little blue to-day, but I am going to say a good word for the transportation system. I have said it two or three times and you will forgive me if I repeat myself. I believe one of the greatest assets Canada has to-day is her railways. The real difficulty was that when we started building our railways we had a double policy, a railway building policy, coupled with an immigration and settlement policy. Then the War came on. I do not want to say much about the way the railways were built; I have not many words to say about that even in Toronto. I may say this: if we had put some thought, some study, the application of knowledge that was available to our railway system relating it technically and by expert advice to the requirements of the country, we would not find ourselves where we are to-day. But the truth is that some of our great railway builders, seeing the opportunities for railway building, and the great wealth in it, seized the opportunity to build away ahead of their time, hoping they would get the benefit of what really belongs to the next generation. In doing this, we were acting at that time as we were in regard to everything else—we were boasting. The time of knocking came along later. But the fact remains we could never have settled Western Canada without our railways. Let me call your attention to this fact: during 1925 we produced in the prairie provinces sufficient new wealth to pay the capital charges and the losses that have accrued since on every line of railway built in Western Canada. That development of national wealth could never have taken place if our railways had not been built. During the War the men in the settlement business were in the armies and we were in quite unfair conditions so far as making a judgment as to our affairs was concerned. We had that setback. But I will make this statement and I challenge contradiction: that if we were without our railways to-day, we would not, in all probability, have the courage to build them. But if we had that courage they would cost as us much to build them to-day as they did then, in addition to the charges to keep them up. In the meantime we have our railways and the possibility of developing the great national wealth on lines still unused in Western Canada.

I want to say this other word: I do not believe there could have been a Canada in any real sense without Western Canada. The Fathers of Confederation saw that and they said, "If we are to have a real Canada it must go from the Atlantic to the Pacific." And when they completed the first elements of Confederation they took steps to bring in the whole thing right to the coast in order that ultimately there might be a place for our race to expand across this whole continent with its industrial life, and with conditions for producing the things men require for living. I do not hesitate to say that. I am convinced I am right that any real substantial Canada would have been impossible but for Western Canada and our western railways. The thing we want to do is to do our utmost to see that settlement and development in our country shall be of such a character as will make the railways themselves self-supporting. In the meantime I am glad we have got our railways, even with a deficit. If I were building them, there are some lines I would not build; there are other places I would put railways where there are none; but the fact is they are there and they make possible a great, growing, developing Canada.

I said the sixth thing was a virile race capable of using its opportunities, intelligent enough to use them, wise enough to apply knowledge to the development. A moment ago I said Germany and England were developed countries, and we are undeveloped. I will say this; that if we use the knowledge that is available to us, knowledge greater than had the men who developed these older countries, we can do in twenty-five years what it took them a hundred to do, if we only set our minds to it. Perhaps I may be called a theorist; it is common practice to call a man a theorist when you disagree with him. If there is one thing we want to learn in Canada it is that knowledge is a useful thing and and that it can be applied to the solution of the great problems we have. I fire up, Mr. Chairman, and Sir Robert Falconer, when I hear men condemning expenditures on universities because they are not useful. No greater lie was ever uttered in the presence of an intelligent audience. The university is performing its function, that of laying the foundation of knowledge, that can be applied in the development of the nation's life. No nation that does not from now on build its industry on knowledge, will be able to build industry at all. It cannot get anywhere.

We have two races in Canada; we have the French race and the British race. I am going to ask you this question: Do you think there is a race of men on the face of the earth that could have made out of Quebec what the French race has made out of it, other than the French? When I go along the sterile rocky shores of the great river St. Lawrence, and I see what that great race of men have made of that country, I say to myself, "The scions of one of the greatest races of the world have achieved what was worthy of the race to which they belong." I do not think I can say a much greater thing for them than that. I do not think there is another race that, starting with 60,000 men and women a hundred years ago, could have made of Quebec what they have made of it to-day.

Now I come to ourselves; now we have to be more careful. But I do want to say that the men and the women who entered the valleys of the Maritime

Provinces, who entered the forests of Ontario, who turned these fair lands into gardens of the Lord, where men of the right kind of quality. There was something in them that we do not have to be ashamed of. If any shame beats in our hearts it is that we are not worthy of the traditions they established and set up for us. When I hear men complaining of the conditions of life under which we are living in Canada, and I think of what our forefathers did, I look at the conditions of life from which they came originally, and say the man who complains is not worthy of the stock from which he comes. I can hope for no greater thing for this generation of young Canadians than that in the development of their country they shall prove themselves worthy of their fathers. I can think of nothing higher to say about them.

I went last summer down to the little valley in Nova Scotia where my forebears settled after the Revolutionary War. It took them two generations to get out into the world again. And I asked myself this question: Were they foolish? Well, if men are foolish because they live by a great inspiration, they were fools. If men are foolish because they love something more than they love themselves, these men were fools. But so long as patriotism, love of country, inspiration to be free permeate men's minds and make them worthy, the names of these people will be on the record as being worthy.

My third question is: How are we going to get possession of our inheritance? There are certain things we have got to do, and the first is that we have got to recognize frankly the problems that we are facing. It does not do for me to come to you and utter words of condemnation for your attitude toward me or my attitude toward you, unless our statements are founded upon exact information. The first thing to do is to recognize frankly the situation. I do not blame our politicians. I think we can look back over fifty or sixty years of Canadian history and say that no finer political traditions was ever established by any people than was established by our forebears. We have had our ups and downs, our crooked politicians, and our none too straight ones too; but in the solid development of constitutional life in this country we have everything to be proud of in comparison with other places. I dislike to hear denunciation of our public men.

We must frankly see ourselves as others see us, or in an appropriate relation to the problems we have to solve, and I am sure we will get on with the solution. Then we must learn to think of Canada as a whole. I said in the beginning, there is one thing I feel that I have achieved personally, due to my long association with Canadian life, and that is that I no longer think of myself as other than a Canadian. I think one of the things we have to learn in this country is to think of Canada as a whole. I know that geography is against us. We must learn to think of Canada rather than think of Western Canada and Eastern Canada and the Maritime Provinces. I do not think there has been any problem that we have to solve in holding Canada together that the Americans did not have to solve in keeping the East and West together, except this barrier we spoke of. All the problems of transportation that we have to solve they had to solve. I do not hesitate to say there is no danger to us in trading north and south as against east and west in Canada, especially whenever our materials have to go to he markets of the world. When they go to the markets they have to cross the Continent and I do not see any difference whether they cross Canada or the United States from an economic point of view. But we must seek to make Canada a self-supporting nation. I believe that is something we ought to strive for with all our hearts. As I look at the Canadian Confederation this is the way it appeals to me, that the central provinces of Canada got the best of Confederation, not by design at all but as it turned out; that the development of the West, which our forefathers dimly saw would come in the form in which it came, and as related to the central Provinces, the heart of the

Confederation. The result is—will you forgive me if I say this—prosperity sometimes has made Central Canada just a little irritable with respect to claims of other parts of the country. The mental attitude you sometimes take toward the man from the West is not quite fair to the Western man. I do not believe there is a single Province of Canada that stands superior to some of the Western Provinces, even in their political development.

You sometimes speak as if some of the Western Provinces were bankrupt. The Western Provinces are no more bankrupt than Ontario is bankrupt. The actual conditions all over the country have been depressing since the War, but those that have been prosperous have resented the claim made by those not so prosperous. A dear friend in one of the cities here, when discussing this question, said, "You Western men never know what you want." My answer was, in all good nature, "My friend, do acquire the habit of seeing both sides of the question." As far as I am concerned my attitude is this; I am a great believer in the ultimate justice of the British and the French people taken together, and I believe that when we get together to an understanding we will each be willing to go half way in the settlement of our problems. All I am pleading for is that we seek to get that understanding.

Then let me say that we ought to stop slamming each other altogether. May I give you an illustration? Out in a province of Western Canada a public man was discussing something, I think a railway policy, and he said, "They are trying to build a railway to a God-forsaken hole called Guysboro down in Nova Scotia." Now Guysboro was the place where I was born; it is one of the most beautiful places in God's world. It was naturally a God-forsaken hole to a man three thousand miles away who had never seen it. The Department of the Interior thinks the place where my mother was born is so beautiful that they made a photograph of it and it is hanging in the office of the

Canadian High Commissioner in London. It is not quite so God-forsaken as it seems.

Down East a gentleman who was discussing the West got a black headline in the papers when he spoke about "the Prairie parasites." How are you going to get Canadian unity on that basis, the basis of ignorance and knocking, without knowledge. The tendency of it, whether it is done in the East or in the West, is to disrupt feeling and create a disposition to work separately from one another. Now the only thing I fear between the East and the West is the growth of the mentality of the West because of the difference in the occupations of its people from the occupation of the people in the East. If we take care of that kind of mentality and develop the spirit of patriotism we need have no anxiety. Western America has fought its battles with Eastern America more vigorously than we have but nobody ever talks disruption, because deep-seated in the heart of the American people is a confidence in the unity of their own nation. That is what I want us to get. When we get that we will not be talking about Confederation being broken up, but as man to man we will meet and face our problems with a determination to solve them. We have the ability to do it if we will try. We have to have confidence in one another. I believe we have the finest intellectual stock in America. A great American once said this was the greatest intellectual recruiting ground in America. Wherever I go I make a plea for the training of our men for better work and for confidence in their ability to do it. And when I heard someone speaking as if an American was a better man to bring in to do a job than a Canadian, it was then I used the word the newspapers took up wrongly. I spoke of our having an "inferiority complex." I meant we had a disposition to think more highly of other people than of ourselves. I do not want you to pray the Scotchman's prayer for the Lord to give us a good conceit of ourselves, but a confidence as man to man that we can do our own work.

Then I would that we could leave behind us the quarrels of the Middle Ages in our relations to one another on these racial matters. I would that we Englishmen could think of the work of French Canada and be proud of it, and French Canada think of the work our forefathers have doe and be proud of it. And in our pride of one another we will find the foundation for unity that we have not got to-day. We the English stock can lay the foundation for that if we lay ourselves to the task.

LABOUR'S CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY PROGRESS

AN ADDRESS BY MR. TOM MOORE, PRESIDENT OF THE TRADE AND LABOUR CONGRESS OF CANADA.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Thursday, April 8, 1926.

THE PRESIDENT introduced the speaker.

MR. MOORE

Mr. President and members of the Empire Club, I cannot help feeling that it is incumbent on me at this time to pay tribute to those who are here today, demonstrating as it does the interest taken by those outside the wage-earning class, not only in labour matters, but in those movements for the improvement of conditions that have taken place. I can hardly conceive that even fifteen or twenty years ago you would have honoured a representative of organized labour by asking him to speak on matters which are so close and dear to us. It shows the improvement that has taken place generally in the national life when we can meet across the luncheon table and discuss freely and frankly the things which we consider of general community interest.

I think we can all agree that possibly there was never a time in the history of this country or any other when it was more essential to have proper understanding between the various sections of the community so that real national and international unity might be achieved.

I notice that I have been somewhat vague in some of the terms used in the title of this address. Perhaps my residence in Ottawa, in close touch with many of our parliamentarians, and reading the documents emanating from the House of Commons, has led me to be a little loose in the definition of things, in order, perhaps, that I might interpret them as I like a little later. I am going to follow parliamentary practice, and we will have a little interpretation clause at the beginning, if you are agreeable. Of course "labour" is rather a broad definition. It reminds me of the banquet of the Chamber of Commerce given in Detroit to some prominent visitors, when all the speakers had emphasized the fact that Detroit was the Automobile City, but one member of the Chamber felt that the visitors ought to know what an industrial centre Detroit was, and he remarked in his speech that Detroit manufactured other things besides automobiles; to which one of the visitors replied, "You are right, you do; I have ridden in one of the damn things too." The illustration I want to draw is that naturally members of the Chamber of Commerce thought automobiles covered all means of transportation of that character, whereas those who had a more intimate knowledge from riding in them saw the distinction. So it is with Labour.

I suppose the ordinary citizen who takes up his paper and finds that Labour has declared this, or Labour has decided the other, makes no distinction in his mind between the different forms of organization, or organizational activity that Labour may be carrying on. In my title I should have said "Labour Unions' Contribution," because I am only entitled to speak for the followers of the organized Labour Unions, being not only their direct representative, but not having membership in the political or other labour parties. As you know, there is another section of labour which devotes its activities on the political field. The Trades and Labour Congress and the Labour Unions themselves do not fully participate in that direction, but naturally many of its members do belong to the Labour Political party. During the last few years we have found that there is another section which also uses the name "Labour" with which neither many of the Political party nor certainly fewer of the Trades Union group have sympathy so far as their policies are concerned; I refer to that section sometimes spoken of as the Left Wing, and sometimes as the Communist Party, and sometimes under other names, but neverthless all the one.

Finding themselves unable to inflict their ideas on the Trades Union movement, finding it too broadly based, too old and experienced to accept the wild theories propounded by them—they have turned their attention to the newer and younger movement, the Political movement, and in some sections of the country they have launched an attempt to control or so use the Labour movement as to get the necessary publicity and propaganda for their policy which they desire. I wish, however, to make it clear that I am not in any manner criticising the political activities of Labour, because I realize that in that section there are a great number of members, especially the Trades Union group, who are using their best efforts to recover that position—and it is only a temporary position—that their policies may not be distorted from time to time by the announcements of that small, closely-knit, well-organized and well-financed group known as the Communist Party.

I therefore want to leave with you, particularly at the beginning—that what observations I may make will be those of what is usually termed the organized Labour Movement, or the Trades Union movement of this country. The policy of that movement has been one of evolution—or, if you want to quicken it a little, we would say a revolution by reasoning. It is that policy which the Trades Union movement of this country is trying to follow.

The next term that perhaps needs a little less explanation is "Community" or "Community's interest." Naturally there are those in our ranks who sometimes lend themselves to the belief that the wage-earners are the community. They are certainly more numerous than any other section of the community, and they probably have more votes, but they do not use them quite as well as the rest of the community, and therefore they take a second place when it comes to the actual administration of many of the laws that are on our Statute Book. I may illustrate this point by the story of the circus lion that was made up of the usual typical Irishman. He got into the lion's skin and started prowling around the cage, doing a little growling, when he heard louder growls than his own, and looking across the show he saw a cage with a tiger in it. The tiger was rattling the bars and growling, and the party in the lion's skin became a little alarmed, and called out to the proprietor; but a voice came from the tiger's cage saying, "Don't get excited; I am an Irishman, too!" The point I would like to leave with you is that so long as they remained in the cages growling, and didn't open their mouths, you were likely to think that they were different from what they really were—but immediately they got under the skin and spoke a little to each other they found out that they were much alike. So, probably if the different sections of the community of this country would take their skins off sometimes, or get out of the cages and mix a little, as we are doing today, there would be less misunderstanding and liability of trouble occurring.

Of course that, in its broadest definition, is merely preaching a policy of cooperation. Again, when we use the word "Cooperation" there is liable to be some misunderstanding. A person on the employing side is sometimes liable to think that cooperation means that the people operating should agree to everything that he thinks is best for them, while the employee is sometimes liable to think that whatever the workers decide is cooperation so long as the employer will accept it. However, as we all know, cooperation is something different from that. Cooperation often brings in its trail a compromise, not necessarily subservience or the loss of principle, but merely an honest recognition that there are two sides to the question, and that it is necessary to understand those two sides if we would make progress.

Organized Labour's first contribution to the community interest to which I wish to refer is the growing belief in, and the propaganda carried on for, cooperation by its members. Much has been done in that direction. The first step towards that was naturally the creation of organizations themselves; the breaking down of the resistence towards the formation of Labour Unions which was often met with, and which unfortunately is still met with even in the present day by some unthinking employers who are disloyal to their own class, as they are to the working class, by following a policy of that kind. Only a few days ago I read of an employer in one of the textile districts of New Jersey, where they are having trouble headed by the Union Labour, who said that he wished he had given greater support to the labour organization. Perhaps he is in the position referred to in the old rhyme, "When the devil was sick the devil a saint would be." Nevertheless, the great majority of employers today who have had relations with labour organizations recognize that they are here to stay, and that all the attempts made in the past to wipe them out have failed, and only added strength to the Labour bodies, and therefore that the best policy is to seek to use their energies and vitality in the direction of construction instead of destruction.

Of course that can only be done by recognizing the equal status ot the worker who is organized as having an interest in industry. Let me say that while the investment of capital in industry is great, it is often insignificant compared to the investment of the individual worker, who invests all that he has—his knowledge, his technical skill, and many times his savings in a little home, and puts all of any value in the industry in that particular town which may be closed up. Therefore the worker makes a 100 per cent investment, whereas that of the employer is practically trifling compared with that of Labour; and the employers realize that they can be prosperous only if the industry is properous. There are many mistakes we make, but I want you to believe that Labour's endeavours are not towards destroying or weakening an industry, but rather hoping to strengthen it, while at the same time improving their condition, which they believe is possible, otherwise we have no confidence in the development of civilization as a whole.

Cooperation, therefore, is based, firstly on organization, and secondly, if organizations are established and recognized, to some degree on collective bargaining which confines itself very largely to the more immediate things of wages and hours and shop conditions; but through collective bargaining we develop the cooperation whereby we get out of the strife on which collective bargaining may be founded. Some think that we have only to bargain when we want something, whereas cooperation says we should lend our interests, our energy and our initiative not when we want something but when we can do something towards building up the industry as a whole.

Many industries are adopting that policy. I am glad to say that foremost, and best established in Canada, is that of the Canadian National Railway. Through the cooperative system, established first in the repair shop, it has been possible during the past two years to so vastly change the conditions in those shops as not only to increase production but to increase stability of employment; and while other railway workers are still suffering from short time, and hence from short wages and discontent, the workers on that part of the Canadian National Railways have been able to stabilize their employment, and secure more regular wages, and therefore much more satisfactory conditions; and there is no worker who does so well as the one who is satisfied. Fortunately there is nobody so easily satisfied as the mass of workers, for very little will satisfy them.

In passing I may mention the cooperation set up during the war period by the running trades of the railway organizations, generally termed the Brotherhoods. They agreed, in order to avoid industrial strife on the railroads, to set up what was known as an Adjustment Board, to which grievances might be referred; and, strange to say, that Adjustment Board has equal membership of employers and employees, neither side having the balance of power. Matters referred to it are accepted as final. It is a voluntary Board, which was set up only for the war-time period, but its success was so great that at the close of the War they determined to carry on voluntarily, and it still exists, and no case has been referred to it that they have not been able to settle, and thus avoid industrial disputes.

I think, therefore, that I am correct in saying that Labour has some right to feel proud of that contribution to community interests, because probably no one suffers more during industrial strife than the innocent bystander, or consumer—the community on the outside. We know that the suffering is intense on the workers' side, but we do not always know how hard it may be on the employers' side; generally we do not think it is going hard enough, because it lasts too long. However, we do know that the community suffers, and while the surrendering of that last right indicates the last resort, when conditions are such that Labour cannot honestly accept them, and we withdraw our Labour, feeling that we would be false to ourselves and to the future conditions if we did not make the sacrifice, Labour today realizes more and more that the way to progress is not through the indiscriminate use of that weapon, but is through more general use of the cooperative weapon, and the means of arbitration.

I do not desire to go into greater detail as to what we might call the strictly economic side. I want to turn rather to the social side, because probably nowhere has Labour assisted more in the development of higher conditions, higher civilization, or contributed more to the general improvement of community life than through its social activities.

Industrial development naturally brought in its train many unsatisfactory conditions. I am not blaming individual employers for that. They are driven by the same machine that many times drives us—the machine of unnecessary and unjust competition. We know the circumstances under which many times they have to labour. How much trade could the employer with the highest ideals, if he attempted to put the Sermon on the Mount into effect today in his factory, secure on that basis so long as the rest of the industries continued on the ordinary commercial basis of today, where dollars are paramount? We know the difficulties there, and it has been because of these that legislation has been necessary which would force along in certain directions the minority of the employers who were dragging back,—legislation which could sometimes be used to convince them, against their will, of something that was really good for them. That sounds like a wild statement, but only recently I heard a prominent employer state publicly that though he had opposed the Workmen's Compensation Act in Ontario he had found it one of the greatest blessings and one of the best things that had ever been forced upon them—because it had led them not only to pay for accidents, but to realize the volume of industrial accidents, and then start an initiative to reduce that volume, in which they are doing very active work at present.

Labour organizations have blazed the way for much of the legislation we have now on the Statute Books. Much, if not all of it, was based first on the ground secured by the efforts of Labour organizations in providing themselves with those measures that they thought were good, through their own contributions or though the medium of collective bargaining, inducing a sufficient number of right-thinking employers to try out the experiment, and in those directions they had gone together, and sometimes separately, to secure certain legislation to make it good for the rest of the community.

In this category I might mention the protection of the aged and needy, the control of child labour, the dealing with unemployment, the question of sanitation, industrial diseases and industrial hygiene. Labour's interest in those things is naturally more pronounced than other interests, because there is no group that suffers more by unsound public policy on those particular questions. Labour being closer to the result of bad administration or unsound policy is naturally more pronounced in its advocacy of sick benefits probably before others gave much thought to it.

However, organized labour does not always benefit either as early or to as great a degree as the unorganized workers or the rest of the community. May I mention the question of old-age pensions? There is before the House of Commons at present a Bill proposed to grant old-age pensions to aged and needy workers who have reached seventy years of age, to give to them $20 per month provided that they have not over $120 additional income per year, which would make the total income a dollar per day, and if they have over that it would deduct from the $20 that would be paid to them. The strongest advocates of that pension scheme are to be found in the circles of organized labour, yet a very large percentage of our organization would not come under this scheme, because through their individual efforts they now receive greater benefits. The Typographical Union, of which my good friend Simpson is a member, pays their aged members, 65 years of age, $8 per week. The Carpenters' organization, of which I am a member, have their scheme paying $30 a month. The Bricklayers and Plasterers and other organizations provide that protection for themselves, or for their aged members, through their own efforts. Therefore, legislation of this kind is not based primarily on our own needs, but rather on the realization of the need of the community to protect those aged workers who no longer can continue their work.

With regard to sickness and accident insurance, on which our Workmen's Compensation Act has been based, including many industrial diseases, the Trades Unions, long before that legislation was passed, were paying disability donations and benefits to their disabled members; they were paying to the widows of men killed in industry a sum varying from $100 in some organizations up to $1,000 in others, thus giving protection to the widow in the most critical time, and helping her to tide over the difficulties for a period. There are very few

Labour organizations that I know of that do not still provide that protection. Yet, from our knowledge of the vast multitude who were not covered by those benefits and did not think fit to make that voluntary sacrifice in the Labour organizations themselves, we pressed for legislation, knowing that it would be good for the community, removing the necessity of destroying somebody's fibre and morale by making them feel that they were objects of charity, and therefore translating into legislation that Compensation Act because it would give some of them protection.

In regard to sanitation rather an interesting feature arises. Perhaps one of the earliest attempts to protect the community from unsanitary products was that made by the Cigar Makers in the early years of Trades Unionism. The native South American cigar maker worked under such low and filthy conditions that the white workers felt that the goods made under more sanitary conditions should be introduced to the public, as distinct from those made under those unsanitary conditions, and a label was introduced and fixed to their product. Of course that carried with it the fact that the label was only affixed where the Union had control and where their members were employed. That was the origin of what is today known commonly as "Union Label." It had its inception in the protection of the community against unsanitary products which were a danger and a menace to the life of the people.

So, even today, in the ladies' clothing industry, the label is a guarantee that the goods are turned out in factories where the highest sanitary conditions prevail. The tailors refused to affix their label on work done in homes where often suits for which you would pay $100 are used for the little children to sleep on because they have no bed-clothes. So the union label recognizes one of the first efforts towards establishing sanitary conditions Take the printers, again; through their efforts to improve hygiene in the industry, and to establish a home for those who suffer from disease which they have contracted, they have managed through their short period of existence to lengthen the average life of the men employed in the printing industry from 35 to 51 years. I think that is a valuable contribution to any community—to be able to add sixteen years to the life of a man at the prime of his productivity.

Based on those efforts we have the factory inspection laws, which today insist on general sanitary conditions. We have the licensing laws, governing those who particularly come in contact with the public, such as the catering and barbering trades, etc., where hygiene and sanitation are essential, and plumbers who have to do with sanitary installation in our homes, must be licensed, as capable, competent and under control, to see that the work done is safe for the community, for the customer and for the consumer.

Through these things we have made some contribution to the community's interest; also with regard to Child Labour laws, bringing out of the factories the children who were often used in earlier years; raising the school age, creating a class of workers, workers who will not refuse to do manual work because they are educated, but who can intelligently apply their man-power to the work because they have the education to do it; through the encouragement of educational facilities raising the school age, and the age at which they go into factories; the prevention of women working during the night, and in filthy occupations; all those things which are covered by our Factory Acts have done much to improve the community's status of life.

But, in doing that, it was realized that hardship would probably be inflicted on some of the working people, by compelling them to leave their children at school, and refusing to allow their children to go into industry at an early age, though economic conditions surrounding them were so stringent that it would be practically impossible for them to continue unless some provision was made. Therefore Labour devoted itself to efforts first to secure the minimum wage laws, which provided that women and children could not be exploited, and should be given a reasonable remuneration for the work which they did; then, also the Mothers' Allowance Act, whereby a woman, instead of being compelled to send her children into a factory or leave them to run the streets and become gamins, in order that she may go into a factory, is provided from State aid, not with charity or a dole, but with an actual pension for the most valuable work that anyone can do for a community—the raising of a future generation.

In the 8-hour day, the one day's rest in seven, and other matters we are pressing at present, we are not asking that experiments shall be made. We are merely asking that conditions which we have established as sound shall be turned into legislation in order that they may extend the benefits to others. Organized Labour today can cheerfully say that in Canada practically 75 per cent of its membership already enjoy the 8-hour day through collective bargaining and through collective agreements with their employers. Therefore the percentage of members of Labour Unions who would benefit by 8-hour day legislation is insignificant compared with the masses of other workers who have not yet organized or been able to organize, but who are compelled to devote almost every hour that they can physically devote to the continuation of their own particular calling.

We are therefore asking for legislation which to the organized worker means merely the consolidation of that which they have established. Labour has contributed to the community interest by demonstrating the practicability of what can be done, and it merely turns to the public and says, "Having demonstrated this, we seek your understanding and support in order that those charged with enacting legislation should only translate public opinion into enactment." If we go ahead of public opinion we have failure, as the O. T. A. experience has shown you many times. It is only with turning actual public opinion into concrete legislation that Parliament really has to do. We do not complain of Parliaments and Legislatures not passing legislation before they are convinced that public opinion is behind it. Therefore one of the contributions of Labour organizations is to cultivate public opinion, to understand the ideals and the basis and the practicability of that which Labour has been searching for, and has accomplished for itself.

I think I could summarize Labour's activities in many ways by saying that they could be classed under three heads—Safety, Health, and Welfare. There is a more indirect one which is carried on through this country by the Labour Unions and the Central bodies such as the trained leaders, the Labour Council of Hamilton, etc., some 60 of which are in existence throughout the country. They interest themselves in the broader matters of community life, and perhaps would be much easier understood by you as actually contributing to community life, through the assistance they give to all matters which will improve educational facilities, etc., through the institution of, and the pressure for, playgrounds instead of children roaming the streets; through the betterment of building by-laws so that the homes in which they live shall not be jerry-built, but shall be sanitary and safe. Through community activities of that kind you find those Councils taking an interest, watching their City Councils, passing resolutions which may guide to some extent the great masses of wage-earners in the community as to what is better for the raising of the status of themselves; and in other directions not so closely related as wage negotiations and other matters, Labour is making a vast contribution to community interest.

May I read a few extracts from a pamphlet whose origin I do not know; it was issued last year under the title, "A Challenge to Canadians," and as good Canadians I think we ought to hear what that challenge was. It says: "It is true that Canada is favoured with much fertile land, large forests, timber, wide-spread mining deposits, much water power, much of it undeveloped, and good fisheries. Yes, Nature has done very well for Canada, and Nature may boast if she will. So far, those entrusted with the affairs of Government and of industrial development have no great cause for boasting.

In spite of those boundless resources, Canada has her hungry thousands, her unemployed, and her industries idle. She has forests of timber, but not enough houses for her people; tremendous yields of wheat, yet many are hungry; extensive possibilities of industrial development, but with many idle hands. Is it not a pity that someone could not fittingly and truthfully boast of a nation of homes, a well-fed and well-educated people, free from the burden of debt, and fear, and want? That is really what the Canadian people would like to see, but cannot."

Labour has accepted the challenge, gentlemen, of the last paragraph; it has attempted to realize its ideals and its responsibilities to fit in with the fulfilment of that last challenge.

I want to thank you again for the opportunity you have given me to place before you these few simple facts of Labour's activities and ideals, realizing that in doing so you have provided one more avenue where the challenge contained in the paragraph I have read may be brought nearer accomplishment by the assistance that I know many of you are going to lend us in achieving our objects.

THE PRESIDENT voiced the hearty Thanks of the Club to the speaker for his informing and inspiring address.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND POLICIES OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

An Address by HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE TIMOTHY A. SMIDDY, M.A.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Thursday, April 15, 1926.

THE RT. HON. MR. SMIDDY was introduced by the President, and spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I can assure you it was with a real, spontaneous pleasure that I accepted the kind and warm invitation to come and address you at lunch to-day. It is, I think, the third occasion on which I have spoken in Canada, and the second occasion in my capacity as Minister of the Irish Free State. I get a peculiar interest in speaking to Canadians because the Irish Free State is in a very intimate way bound up with Canada. The first article of our treaty with Great Britain cites that the constitutional status of the Irish Free State is the same as that of the Dominion of Canada. The second and third articles of the treaty which speak of the relations in which we stand to the Imperial Crown and to the Imperial Parliament, cite that the law practice and constitutional usage of Canada in so far as they determine the relations of Canada to the Imperial Crown and the Imperial Parliament, likewise determine the relations of the Imperial Crown and the Imperial Parliament to the Irish Free State. Therefore we are very much interested in your constitutional development, because our development goes along the same lines.

The broad fact emerges that the Irish Free State, like Canada, is free, free to determine and work out her own destiny in her own way, without any hindrance from any other country or any other government. Now the Irish Free State and all nations in the British Empire are united by a symbol, by the one symbol, and that symbol is the British Crown. But the development of the British Constitution in recent years suggests that really that symbol is a symbol of unity of interests, a community of interests, of ideals, and of kinship. That common symbol does not fetter us in the least, it does not prevent us from just doing as we like within our own country, and governing it as we see fit, and I myself am of the opinion, that the freer the bands are that attach us, the less formal they are, if you wish, and the more we will develop those spiritual and moral attachments one to the other, the stronger will be our unity in times of need and times of stress. I want to refer to the first article in our constitution; that article cites that the Irish Free State is a co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations; in other words we are all co-equal, the Irish Free State, Canada, Australia, and Great Britain herself. Naturally, we are not co-equal in stature, but we are co-equal in status. And therefore that brings into relief a different meaning, I think, that has grown up to this one symbol that binds the lot, and that is the Imperial Crown. It is not a monopoly of England, it is not the monopoly of any one nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Now I think there emerge from that great co-equality some very important conclusions. To begin with, such co-equality among the different nations forming this Empire is a guarantee of world peace. We form really a small effectual League of Nations. If Great Britain by any chance had her pride affected and she were more or less induced perhaps to rush into war—I just cite that hypothetical case—she would not do it without consulting her various partners. They may not see eye to eye with her on that particular issue, they will argue, they will reason, there is compromise, and within the British Empire itself, to my mind, there is a security of peace as a result of this co-equality. Great Britain also would not enter into war, at least any war she might enter into as a result of these deliberations and this common action would be an internationally justifiable one. I just mention that as one obvious effect of this co-equality of the nations forming the British Empire.

Now I shall not trouble you further on constitutional questions but I shall proceed to give some idea of the economic conditions of the Irish Free State at present and the difficulties that our Government had to contend with, some idea of their achievements, and therefrom, I am sure, you will be convinced that we of the Irish Free State are capable of governing ourselves and give hope for the development of a prosperous and happy country.

After the Treaty was signed with Great Britain, the Irish Free State and Ireland as a whole was in a very peculiar position. We had no army in the Irish Free State, we had no police. The old Royal Irish Constabulary had been disbanded and here we were without army or police and a civil war in process. Forthwith we had to organize an army of 55,000 soldiers and equipment. We also had to organize a police force which is called the Civic Guard. Fortunately the civil war collapsed after one year. The civil war in Ireland was no surprise such being the aftermath of most revolutions in most countries. It was short-lived, and taking everything into account the losses of life were not very great. They were nothing comparable to losses of life under similar circumstances in Finland and other European countries. The Civic Guard was organized, and a very interesting feature of the Civic Guard of the Irish Free State is that under no circumstances whatever may a Civic Guard carry an armed weapon. If he does, he is forthwith dismissed from the force. He has to rely on the moral support of the people; and if the Civic Guard have to try to capture robbers or highwaymen who are armed, they have to do so without arms. It is one of the strictest regulations in our police that they cannot carry arms.

The government was wise in adopting the regulation, because the police were sent originally during civil war, not as soldiers, but simply to administer ordinary civil law, and be it said to the credit of the populace of the Free State there was not a single policeman shot. Those that were shot were shot by robbers. We appeal to the sense of fair-play; anyone who would take arms to shoot a policeman would be considered a murderer. We have the Civic Guard of 7,000, very efficiently trained and highly educated. The Civic Guard is performing its work in a most admirable fashion.

We also overhauled the judiciary. The judiciary we had was expensive and not quite consonant with the traditions of the people, therefore we established a completely new judiciary. I do not mean to say we appointed all new judges, but the system of the judiciary was completely changed.

In 1923 a Land Act was passed which wiped out the last vestiges of landlordism in the Irish Free State. It put a hundred thousand tenants in possession of their own land and made them owners thereof, subject to annuities which they will pay over a period of years, and these annuities are about thirty per cent less than their former rents. We have close by us a very large market; that is Great Britain; in fact 99% of the exports of the Irish Free State are consigned to Great Britain and to the six counties under the jurisdiction of the Northern Parliament. What percentage of these exports are transhipped from England, I do not know, but roughly perhaps about 15%. Now our exports from the Irish Free State are about 80% agricultural commodities. We have to meet in England the competition of Denmark, or New Zealand and Australia in agricultural commodities; we realized that our methods of production were far behind, as also our methods of merchandising; therefore we passed an Act by which all butter exported to Great Britain must be inspected first of all, and only exported if it reaches first class standard. Likewise eggs can be exported only from licensed premises, and must be graded and suitably packed. That Act has been in force only four months and already there are signs of its good effects, and the value of these commodities in Great Britain has increased. In order to compete more successfully with Denmark in butter exports, an Act has been passed by which the strain of the milch cow will be improved. Our milch cows on the average produce only 400 gallons per year, whereas the Danish cow produces between 700 and 800 gallons. Well, it costs the same to feed one cow as the other, therefore an Act has been passed by which we have got to produce a better type of milch cow, and we hope within three years to have the average cow in Ireland yielding at least 600 gallons. It is estimated that the returns to the farmer on that alone, with the number of cattle we have will be roughly about 35 million dollars per year, as well as improving the quality of the cattle we export. Last year we exported to England about 650,000 head of cattle, and the year previous close to one million head of cattle. The farmers can also borrow money from the government at a reasonable rate of interest for the improving of their land.

The river Barrow, one of the large rivers of Ireland which frequently overflows its banks and renders a great deal of land more or less useless, is to be drained at a cost of five million dollars.

So much for what the government has done in the way of agricultural development within the last few years. I mentioned that the Irish Free State exports mainly agricultural commodities. We have very few industries in the Irish Free State; the seat of industry in Ireland is in and around Belfast. In the Irish Free State we have a very bad balance between agriculture and industry, and there is no reason why we should not be able to develop some industries. I will take as an example the boot and shoe industry; we export to England hides and skins, and yet for every fifteen pairs of boots we wear in Ireland we import fourteen pairs. Likewise with soap and candles and clothing. Therefore the government decided to introduce tariff protection. It has introduced these tariffs on about twenty-five commodities as an experiment, and they are going to see how this experiment will work out, and then if it is successful, apply protection to a wider area. Last year as a result of protection that is in force, the industries concerned employed about two thousand people extra. Naturally the government cannot introduce wholesale protection without going to the country.

We have in the Irish Free State the largest river in the British Isles, that is the River Shannon, and it was brought under notice by a German firm that we had a regular mine of wealth in the River Shannon. I might state that the government was rather incredulous about it, because a previous commission pointed out that the River Shannon would not be a commercial success. Now this German firm submitted its scheme, the government looked at it incredulously, and did not approve of it. The Germans were nothing daunted; they said, "Well, submit our scheme to any body of experts you like from any part of the world, and if this body of experts turn it down, we are quits. If, on the other hand, they say this scheme is all right in detail, you may pay us a fee for the scheme and we will be satisfied." The government immediately appointed a commission of experts from Switzerland, Norway and Sweden; they spent four months going over the scheme of Siemens, Schuchert, of Berlin, and they endorsed all the statements of Siemens Schuchert. The government thought it was quite a safe venture under these circumstances to proceed with the development of the River Shannon. The scheme is divided into two parts. The first part of the scheme is to develop 90,000 horsepower, and work was begun last September, and when that part is built and the power used up, it will proceed with the balance of the scheme, which is to develop another 90,000 horsepower. So in the driest year, when this scheme is working fully, it will develop 180,000 horsepower, and the first part of the scheme distributes the electricity to every village in the Irish Free State, of 500 inhabitants and upwards. The social effect alone of supplying the villages of Ireland with plenty of light in winter time will be incalculable,and cheap power will tend to develop a number of industries and distribute them throughout the country areas instead of having them centralized in large cities.

It appears that the Irish Free State is also very suitable for the growing of beet for sugar, and an arrangement has been entered into with a Belgian firm, a sugar firm which also has many affiliations in Czechoslovakia, one of the largest sugar refineries in Europe, I believe. This firm has agreed to establish, and provide the capital, for a large sugar factory in Carlow, and it will begin operations next September, and the farmers have agreed and arranged to grow the necessary beet. We are giving a subsidy of so much a ton on the finished sugar. It is a scheme somewhat similar to the scheme that has been put into execution in Great Britain.

With regard to the financial position of the Irish Free State it may interest you to know that for the last two years we have balanced our budget. We raised a loan in 1923, issued at 95, at 5%, and in less than half the time allotted for getting the applications, the loan was oversubscribed. That stock was quoted on the Dublin market last October at 97, and as the result, I presume, of the agreement entered into between the President of the Irish Free State, Sir James Craig, Premier of the Northern Parliament, and the Premier of Great Britain, Mr. Baldwin, by which they agreed to leave the boundary in Ulster just as it was, and by which Great Britain agreed to waive Clause 5 of the treaty by which we had to make a contribution to the British National Debt, which contribution was to be determined by a commission—as a result of the settlement of the boundary, and as the result of the waiving of that liability, our loan appreciated to 99, so the loan that was floated at 95 is now 99, showing that our credit is good. Our total internal indebtedness is 65 million dollars. It is about 60% of one year's annual revenue. We have no external debt. We are also a creditable state; what I mean by that is that the value of the investments of the citizens of the Irish Free State in Great Britain and other countries, and British Government securities, is one billion dollars, and the value of the interest that we receive from our investments in those securities, and dividends on industrial securities, reaches upwards of 55 million dollars a year. So you see we start with a clean slate and all the conditions requisite for good credit. With political stability assured there should be no difficulty in getting from the Irish people themselves all the financing that we want for the development of our industries.

At present there is a bank commission sitting in the Irish Free State, with the object of endeavoring to improve our banking system, if that is possible. Our banking system is good at the moment; we have had no banking failure in Ireland since 1880, but at the same time we think that perhaps some slight changes may aid the development of industry and agriculture. In any case, in accordance with the Treaty, we will have to introduce a new Bank Act. The Chairman of that Commission is the gentleman who was the first secretary of the Federal Reserve Board in the United States, Professor Parker Willis, Professor of Banking also in Columbia University, and he has as a colleague one of the directors of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia; as well as some Irish bankers, so we hope as a result of that Commission perhaps to improve our banking methods.

We had in the Irish Free State about twenty-one different railways, and the government set up a commission recently which brought about an amalgamation of those twenty-one different railways into one, so now we have one system of railways, not under government control, but under the directors that managed the various railways, some of them eliminated; and already reductions have been effected in the passenger rates and in the freight rates.

Our Civil Service may interest you. I think it is somewhat on the lines of your own Civil Service. It is similar to the British Civil Service, divided into two catgories, a first class division and a second class division. Candidates for the first division are usually young men of University standing, those for the second division are young men and women of less education. Admission to the Civil Service is only by competitive examination, to all positions in the government except the purely political positions such as ministers; all others are got uniformly by competitive examination, and the examination is by university professors. Creed and politics play no part whatsoever in the Irish Civil Service. In fact any position within the power of the executive is determined only by efficiency and ability. Recently there were some positions to be filled, three in the Supreme Court and the High Court, and these positions were filled by three men who are not of the religious persuasion of the majority of the people of the Irish Free State. They were put there purely through efficiency. The government in its desire to improve also the municipal administration found itself reluctantly compelled to disfranchise, practically speaking, the Corporations of Dublin and Cork. A great deal of unnecessary labor was employed by these corporations, so much so that the rates became excessively high, and the government disbanded the corporations and appointed two Commissioners to manage the City of Dublin, and one Commissioner for Cork, with full plenary powers. The result has been in the first year a reduction in the rates of about 25% in both Dublin and Cork. The government disbanded those corporations at a time when, you might say, it was fighting for its life, at a time when it wanted votes. It was an unpopular thing to do, but still it had the courage of its convictions and performed that very necessary work. For instance, the City of Dublin wanted to have the streets cleaned and received tenders for cleaning the streets of the city for twelve months. Tenders were received from Irish bodies, and I believe from British, German and French firms, and the contract was assigned to a French firm. So it is a French firm that is cleaning the streets of Dublin—naturally utilizing Irish labor, Dublin labor, and great economy has been effected. I have not been there since, but I am told that the streets of Dublin were never cleaner.

I referred to Ulster and the agreement that was entered into. The real hope of all citizens of the Irish Free State is the ultimate reunion of Ireland. That is really what we want and we hope to achieve it, by good example, by friendliness, by developing the Irish Free State, making good by low taxation, by prosperity, and giving Ulster proof that she would benefit by her coming in. We would gain by her advent and I think she would gain by us. Also the more we tolerate differences of ideals, of traditions, of culture, in Northern Ireland and in Southern Ireland, the more variety of outlook and of general culture we shall have, the bigger contribution we shall make to literature, drama, and other aspects of human life. We shall have thereby a more varied picture, and that is, I think, a tendency of the peoples of Ulster, and of the Irish Free State. After all we are one people and we are all Irish.

It may interest you also to know that the government of the Irish Free State is most anxious to develop the Gaelic language. The Gaelic language is now made compulsory in all the schools of the Irish Free State. The object of making Gaelic obligatory in the schools is to try to bring back some of our old traditions and our old culture. As far back as 2500 years ago Ireland possessed a wonderful culture, a wonderful folklore, a wonderful mythology and a wonderful art. We want to get back some of that culture, and people think it can be best reacquired by getting the Irish people to speak their native language. There is no effort to abolish, and no thought of abolishing, the English language; we shall be a bi-lingual country, and we believe that the more Gaelic we are, the more Irish we are, and the better friends we shall be with our neighbors. The main point is to try to give our civilization a culture of its own, and the civilization we get from other countries, when grafted upon that, may produce something new; and we think that we may contribute to literature, to art and to drama, something worth while. We have done it already as the result of the Gaelic League; we have poets like Yeats and John O'Casey with his recent dramas, and we say we will do still more according as we get back as much of our old culture as is worth having. We cannot make any great contribution to the world in commerce or industry, but I think we can make it in the realm of literature.

The President expressed to the speaker the thanks of the Club.

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT

AN ADDRESS BY SIR ALFRED PICKFORD, KT., OF CALCUTTA.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, April 22, 1926.

SIR ALFRED PICKFORD was introduced by the PRESIDENT, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of this club, I esteem it a very great honor to be given an opportunity of addressing you today on the subject of the Boy Scout Movement, more especially as I think the Boy Scout Movement undoubtedly has a large contribution to make to the object which this club has in view, the knitting together of the different parts of the Empire into one united whole. And in order that the Boy Scout Movement, both in the Empire and in the world at large may come to full fruition, it is very necessary that we should take advantage of any and every opportunity of explaining the foundation and structure, the aims and methods, of the Movement to those who, while sympathetic, may not be provided with the arguments there are in favor of supporting it. We do find, in point of fact, that a pretty large number of people who are in favor of the movement, do not know, beyond their general impression, why the movement gets their support. Therefore with your permission I will, as briefly as I can—and I am afraid merely as a business statement, for I have no gift of oratory—say just what the movement is, and, almost more important, what the movement is not. You may suppose that it takes a certain amount of courage for a man of my unusual proportions to put on these short trousers and travel the world, more especially when this uniform is topped up with a monocle. I have been telling a story in connection with that which I expect is new here. In Australia there was a civic reception, and a man said that he had been describing the visit of the

Commissioner to his two boys, aged four and six, and he got on all right till he got to the monocle, and then the younger boy said, "Yes, Dad, but what is a monocle?" He said, "It is a bit of glass that some funny people wear in one eye." He replied, "I see, Dad, I suppose he is weak on that side of his head." Then these short trousers are a bit of a difficulty sometimes. A certain paper in one of the Dominions said that they objected to something I had said in one of my speeches, and they ended up with a pitying note, "Probably all this stuff comes from Sir Alfred thinking in short pants." Well, that really brings one to the point that there are two ways of looking at it. You may argue, gentlemen, that if a monstrosity like myself goes about in clothes of this description, you are not going to have anything to do with so maniacal a movement as that. On the other hand, you may take the view, and it is the view to which I am going to endeavor if I can to persuade you, that if a monstrosity like this is prepared to put on these clothes, and listen to the things that the little boys at the corner say about him, then there is something in the movement to induce him to do it.

Just two or three facts and figures, very briefly. The movement is only eighteen years old, including five years of war. Nevertheless it has been taken up all over the Empire and in every foreign country except one, namely Russia. That means that it exists in 49 countries, counting the British Empire as only one. That result has been achieved without any propaganda of any sort, simply from the intrinsic merits of the movement. There are some two million scouts throughout the world, and of those about 450,000 to 480,000 are within the British Empire, and in the overseas parts of the Empire, outside the Home Country, the increase in the last three years in the number of scouts has averaged something over twenty per cent, and the increase in efficiency has been very much greater than figures can at all suggest. The movement has only one foundation, a high ethical code, comprised in a Scout Promise and a Scout Law, applicable equally to a lengthened out thing like myself or a fat fellow or a thin fellow or a short fellow or a boy. The adult and the boy both must promise on their entry into this movement, and I am sure this will be in sympathy with your sentiment, promise on their honor to do their best to do their duty to God and the King, to help other people at all times, and to obey the Scout Law. The Scout Law is a brilliant example of how that genius Sir Robert Baden-Powell knew his boy. He knew that if you told him not to do a thing, whatever it may be, wrenching off door knockers, or throwing stones through the windows, that that is probably the first time the boy ever wanted to do those things. So the Scout Law is unique among the codes of the world, in that there are no "Don'ts" in it. There is not a single negative. The Law merely says what a Boy Scout is, and if he is not on his honor doing his best to be those things, he is a Boy Scout only in name. The Law runs as follows—you will notice the simplicity of the language, applicable to all ages—A Scout's honor is to be trusted; a Scout is loyal—not merely to the King, country, parents, employers, teachers, but to those under him. A Scout's duty is to be useful and help other people at all times. A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other scout, no matter to what social class the other may belong. That law alone we regard as most valuable. We have a feeling that if it had been the rule of conduct between nation and nation and between individual and individual in 1914, the war would never have occurred. A scout is courteous; he is a friend of animals; he obeys orders, he smiles and whistles under all difficulties. It used to read "circumstances" at one time, but a scout was found whistling in church and trying to justify it on the basis of the Scout Law. A Scout is thrifty, and a Scout is clean in thought, word and deed. I am sure, gentlemen, you will agree that that is a mighty high code of conduct, and its only value in our eyes is contained in the answer to the question as to whether in the main these two million scouts do on their honor do their best to act up to the principles embodied in it. Well, we can only answer that those of us that are intimately acquainted with the movement are continuously and continuingly amazed at the wonderful way these knights of the bare knees do play the game by their promise. And the reason is to be found in the method adopted, the broad method being to adapt the work or the play—we regard them interchangeably—to adapt the whole business of scouting to the needs, the desires and instincts of the boy, instead of trying to impose on him, often with a stick, something which we men perhaps think may be good for him. The net result is that we get from these youngsters discipline from within instead of authority imposed from without. Now it is got in this way. We use the boy's natural tendency to gather together in gangs, whether for play or for mischief, and therefore the unit of the movement is a patrol, a little gang of six to eight boys under one of themselves as leader. And on that leader is put the responsibility for the conduct and the training of the boys in his patrol. The Scoutmaster is not a commanding officer or a school teacher; he is the leader, the brother, to stand by, assist, advise, organize, but not to interfere too much with the prerogatives of the Patrol Leader. It is in effect a movement for boys, largely run by boys. The goal is, as I am sure you will have gathered, the promotion of good citizenship, and also, as a corollary, the prevention of bad citizenship. And I think you will find there is no aspect of good citizenship that does not fall under one or other of these four heads: first, character; second, handicrafts and hobbies; third, physical fitness; and last, for which all the other three are needed, service for other people. Character is got by trusting the boy, briefly by pushing responsibility on him. Handicrafts and hobbies are given him because he is an active animal, he wants to do things, make things; and therefore he has a choice of between sixty and seventy different subjects from which he can select one or two as his hobbies, making him useful to himself, to other people, and generally using up his time in a way that is legitimate and to him very pleasant. Thirdly, physical fitness, is got mainly from games, and in addition to a large section, special scout games and practices which have this in common that the play is for the side and not for the individual. Lastly, service for other people, which we get by demanding of every boy scout that he shall do at least one good turn to somebody every day. That means that there are at least two million good turns being added to the sum total of human happiness every day as the result of the Boy Scout Movement. But that is far from being the most valuable part of it. The really valuable part of that requirement is that it developes an attitude of looking perpetually for opportunities of doing good turns to other people. And now the general public, very often without in the least knowing why, if they want a job both willingly and efficiently done, turn instinctively to the Boy Scout to do it. Of course the Scouts do sometimes misunderstand things. There is an old story of a Boy Scout falling asleep and his conscience suddenly told him he had not done his good turn for the day, and he was so worried about it he got up and fed his brother's pet white mice to the cat. I am afraid that act did not get the appreciation he expected for it.

That, very sketchily, is what the Movement is, but I think it is relevant to quote what other people say about us, and far better to quote what other people say than what we say. We are regarded, partly by reason of the clothes we wear, as mad, and therefore perhaps our views may be astray. As a matter of fact our only form of madness is that we are mad keen to get this movement increased and going even stronger than it is. Sir Michael Sadlier, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, and now at Oxford—I am sure you must know him—is not a man who talks lightly, and he committed himself to the statement at a conference we had in London the other day, that this is the greatest educational contribution of the century. Another educationist called it a revolution in educational method. Another said that it was the finest system of education ever devised. If any one of those statements is even partially true, then surely the movement is deserving of both attention and study.

Now, third, as to what the movement is not. We get all sorts of accusations chucked at us. You would be amused at the Chief Scout's letter book, the downright abusive letters accusing him of leading all kinds of movements. As a result of that, in all our speeches, we assert, and we defy anybody to prove the contrary, that this movement is non military, but certainly not anti-military; that it is non-sectarian, but the farthest thing removed from being irreligious or non-religious; that it is non-political, non-racial, and non-class. Now on this question of the military side of it, we are always being told we are a military movement. One paper said we were instilling the subtle poison of militarism into the minds of the youth. Another said we were a camouflaged military system for the bolstering up of the capitalistic system. Another said this is a military movement; how is it our boys are led through the streets by officers in clanking military regalia? I asked what clanked? Was it the shirt or the shorts? I did not get an answer. Of course if it is militaristic to teach the boys of the Empire that if the Empire or any part of it, is wantonly attacked that they are to be in the forefront of the fight, then we plead guilty. We teach our boys that, and we propose to continue to teach them that. Our War record was a high one. From Great Britain alone 100,000 were known to have gone to the War, of whom 10,000 did not come back. And the honor record was a high one, including thirteen Victoria Crosses. And generally, the testimony of the soldiers at the front was that the scout training had been mighty useful to the fellows who came out as drafts to their regiments. But surely that does not mean that we are a military movement. It is undoubted that scouting makes better soldiers, better sailors; it makes better carpenters, also better clergymen, better teachers. It might—though I have heard doubts expressed—it might even make better politicians. But the reasons that make scouts better soldiers and sailors are the broad reasons that a sense of duty, intelligence, powers of observation, patriotism, and so on are qualities that improve the boy whatever his calling in life is going to be. So far, however, from being a military movement, we claim that if we can get the general public on our side more than they are even now, we shall be a considerable factor in assisting to create an atmosphere where stupid, destructive, horrible wars could not take place.

Then the movment is non-sectarian. The chief policy of the Association was arrived at in consultation with the heads of all the churches, and it is, in effect, that every boy is expected to belong to some denomination, that no Scoutmaster may interfere with the boy's religion, but that every Scoutmaster is under the definite obligation to encourage each boy to attend the observances of his own particular religion. Surely a sane, sensible, broad policy, that gives religion a very definite place within the movement.

Then it is non-political, it is non-racial, We have 56,000 Indian scouts. We had between five and six thousand scouts gathered at Copenhagen, in 1924, inclubing a large number of ex-enemy scouts, incidentally two hundred German scouts, who, because they were camped alphabetically were between France and Great Britain. You would have thought that might have been an ill-tasting sandwich; but there was no trouble of any sort or description, and in fact the three German scout officers came over to our training school to be trained in the real aims and methods of the movement.

Then it is non-class. If ever you meet a scout who is a snob, that meanest kind of individual, I think you may take it that he is a scout in nothing but name or uniform.

Now that is what the movement is and what it is not. The question is, ought the development to be left largely to the unaided efforts of the self-sacrificing men and women who take on the job of Scoutmaster and Cubmaster? I am not now talking of Commissioners like Mr. Calhoun and myself; we are merely long people who swank around and make long speeches. But the Scoutmaster and

Cubmaster, in direct touch with the boy, who have all the work and the anxiety and the discouragement,—for there is a lot of discouragement in it all the time,—and why? Certainly not because they are running a hobby of their own, certainly not for their self-satisfaction, though they do get fun and satisfaction out of it; but because they are the agents of the community in doing this vital and important work for the rising generation. Especially are they using up their spare time; we do not get the slacker, we only get the busy man; they are using up their spare time and energy and brains to assist the school teacher, the minister of religion, the parent, and the state, in the task of building up splendid men for the day that is to come. Therefore one does appeal for three kinds of assistance. In Ontario certainly the amount of support that the Scout Movement gets, seems to me to be beyond the ordinary, and very splendid that is; it says a great deal for those who are controlling the movement in this great nation. But we do want, nevertheless, more and more support to make this movement available to larger and larger numbers of boys. You can understand from what I have said that this is a system of individual training; therefore we cannot increase numbers by increasing the numbers in the troop. We want three things. We want sympathy, a knowledge of our aims and methods. We want leaders, young-hearted; not necessarily young. We have a nice young fellow of 92 running a troop extraordinarily well in Scotland. We want young-hearted men to take up this splendid job, and there is no doubt there is a great deal of satisfaction in it. Thirdly—I make no apology for this becuase I am half Scotch—we do want a certain amount of money, really an extraordinarily small amount of money is needed, considering the results to be obtained. The trouble we have in that matter is that we make no appeal to pity. A red-cheeked youngster, sturdy of limb, with a grin broader than his face, is not an object of pity, and the public is apt to forget that were it not for this and similar efforts, he might be an object of pity. However that may be, there is no doubt that the Boy

Scout Movement is a preventive movement, and relieves pressure on hospitals by promoting physical fitness, on charitable institutions by promoting self-reliance, on juvenile jails and reformatories and all such institutions on which millions and millions of dollars have been spent. I speak as a business man; the dividend that is got on an investment in the Boy Scout Movement is one that we often wish we could use in the balance sheets of the companies we control.

I want to say one word more on a kindred but slightly different subject, but one that must be of interest too, I am sure, to the members of this Club. We have at Imperial headquarters in London a Scout Migration Department, that is to say, a department for assisting youngsters and young men—we get young men especially—who have had scout training to come out to the Dominions; fellows who feel that they are not getting too good a deal in the Old Country by reason of after-war conditions. We are a little troubled, and that is one of the objects of my visit, we are a little troubled that the number of men with scout training—who are adaptable beyond the ordinary—the number that come to Canada is small as compared with the numbers going elsewhere. We think there must be a reason for that. As a concrete point, we are disturbed at the recent assisted passage scheme, which is made applicable only to youngsters up to the age of seventeen. We do not feel in large numbers of course, and therefore we cannot speak with very great influence, but Canada will miss a certain amount of first-class stuff of the age of eighteen and onwards that we have available. That it is good stuff is I think sufficiently instanced by this that this little department which has existed for two years and a half, has been of assistance to six hundred who have gone from our shores, and we have not a single instance recorded of failure. Of course they have not made good yet, but what I mean is that they have not written home to say that they were deceived or that they are unhappy in their new surroundings; on the contrary we have files of enthusiastic letters about the splendid conditions in the country of their adoption. If any of you can support this matter in any way we shall be extremely glad. Of course the nomination system would be the best, but if anybody does want a fellow for any position—we concentrate on those who are needed for the land—but if anyone does want a thoroughly reliable chap who will not be looking at the clock all the time, I think we can probably help to get him.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I thank you very much for listening to me at, I am afraid, undue length, but one does like to put this story across if one can. I feel perfectly certain that with the objects this great club has in view, a movement like the Boy Scouts, that tends to knit together not only far-distant foreign countries, but every part of the Empire—for there is not a part of the Empire over which the scout flag does not fly—I feel sure that from the members of this club such a movement must inevitably command and secure a great deal of support.

The PRESIDENT tendered to the speaker the thanks of the Club.

AN ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. SIR ESME HOWARD, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., P.C., K.C.M.G., BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

Before a joint meeting of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, the Canadian Club of Toronto, and the Rotary Club of Toronto, Toronto, Tuesday, April 27, 1926.

PRESIDENT MCEACHREN, of the Canadian Club extended a cordial welcome to His Excellency and requested Col. Kirkpatrick, President of the Empire Club of Canada, to introduce him.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK, of the Empire Club, introduced SIR ESME HOWARD, who spoke as follows:—Mr. President of the Canadian Club, President of the Empire Club, President of the Rotary Club, honored guests, and gentlemen, I feel really almost overwhelmed at this gathering which has met together in order to meet me here to-day. I cannot thank you enough for the welcome that you have given me, and I assure you that I shall always carry it away in my heart as one of the pleasantest recollections of my life. Before I begin a speech to such a distinguished gathering as this, I always have to tell them that I have not been born and bred in the way of a public speaker. All my life I have been taught to hold my tongue. But I have occasionally to perform in this way. I am rather fond of telling a story that Mr. Charles Schwab told me a long time ago, which suits me on these occasions particularly well. He has, on his estate in New Jersey, a very fine herd of Guernsey cows, and he told me that on one occasion an old farmer came up to him and said that he had a cow for sale. Mr. Schwab said, "Well, is she a pedigreed cow?" "No, I can't say she is a pedigreed cow." "Well," he said, "has she any Guernsey blood in her?" "No, I can't say she has that." "Well, anyway, is she a good milker?" "No, Mr. Schwab, I can't say she is a good milker, but anyway she is a kind, good-hearted cow, and she will give you all that she can." I throw myself on your mercy.

It is a real pleasure, I can assure you, to be here. I have been wanting to come here for quite a time, and I have always had to put it off for one reason or another. Now I wish, if I may, to thank the three clubs who have so kindly joined together in order to welcome me on this occasion. I think that it is really most kind of them to have done so, not only because it is a very signal honor to myself as the representative of His Majesty across the border, but also because it enables me, if I may say so, to kill three birds with one speech. Gentlemen, I am always delighted to be in Canadian company, because I hope when I come here that I may hear the impressions and opinions of leading members of Canadian society on all kinds of subjects which naturally are of great interest to me in Washington. Unfortunately on this occasion you have asked me to give you my impressions and opinions about various questions, and unfortunately for you I have to do so. I should like to say this, that since I spent two years about twenty years ago under Lord Bryce at Washington, some of the pleasantest recollections I have were connected with the acquaintances which I made, and the friendships which I made with leading Canadian citizens who came down there in order to transact Canadian business; and also with the occasional trips which I have been able to make to this country. I have watched with really heartfelt joy the development of this country, as to the future of which I imagine no one can entertain any doubts whatever. You, I dare say, have your difficulties, just as we in England have our difficulties, and just as over the border our friends also have some difficulties, but I imagine that, all things considered, there could hardly be found in the world any country so little afflicted with dangers and difficult problems as Canada is. For that reason, I look to Canada to play a very great part in all questions affecting the Empire, and above all in the all-important question of maintaining Anglo-American relations on a sound, friendly and healthy footing—than which, I believe, there is really nothing more important for the welfare and prosperity of every member of this great commonwealth ot nations which we call the British Empire, and also for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

Now, gentlemen, it seems to me that looking into the future, the three greatest international problems that there are, are, firstly, the evolution of the British Empire, secondly, our relations with the United States, and thirdly, the maintenance of peace in Europe. I do not know rightly which I should put first; but perhaps the peace of Europe is the most immediately urgent.

The evolution of the British Empire is taking place slowly and steadily. The structure has changed very much since I was a boy, and is always tending more and more to the recognition of equality in political rights for all partners under the Crown which is the symbol, and must remain the symbol of a closer bond than that which unites us to any other friendly people. What shape it will ultimately take it is impossible to foresee, and I doubt if it is wise to try, but we have just to continue, to go on building, with the materials that we have to hand, and we have to meet the wants of the moment, as the British constitution was built up stone by stone and brick by brick without hard and fast rules which may hamper and retard our general development. For this, constant intercommunication and conference is required; without frank and free communications between us, suspicions which are often and generally unfounded, are apt to arise even between the most friendly of partners; and such intimate discussions, I think, constitute the corner stone of a good understanding, and are the very stuff of harmony for the Commonwealth that we have before us. I think it is useless, gentlemen, here to think of talking of those who cannot feel any thrill of pride in the past ot our Empire, or any hope in the future of this wonderful commonwealth of British nations. To me, I confess, it is always a source of wonder and of inspiration.

I feel that those who have pride in being citizens of such a Commonwealth should learn, as Mr. Chamberlain said once long ago, to think imperially. I do not think that he meant by that that we should swell ourselves out with vain pride at the idea of the size or the wealth or the number of the inhabitants, or the potential resources, or—to put it bluntly—in mere quantitative materialism of that kind, but I think he did mean that we should feel the advantages of being part of this great historical structure, that we should desire to know about the other different parts of it, and endeavor to make this great heritage of ours of use and of benefit, not only to ourselves and to each other, but also to the world at large. The interest in our Empire is a spur to education, and more complete knowledge of the problems, political and economic, of it, are really a liberal education in themselves. There is no part of the world that our interests do not touch, and a fairly good knowledge of imperial problems therefore implies an almost universal education. Before I was in Washington I was for some time Ambassador in Spain, and when I was there I frequently found myself called upon to handle questions that were of interest to Canada and to Newfoundland. At Washington, of course, the Canadian interests are second only to those of Great Britain, and those of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are all coming to the fore. As a British diplomat, therefore, I am daily compelled to interest myself in imperial problems, and from this can deduce the rapid advance that all the countries of the British Commonwealth are making both at home and abroad. These matters are really of surpassing interest, and I cannot but believe must be the same to all those who reflect upon them. The ideal of a free association of nations of the same speech, of the same laws, the same blood, the same political institutions, working together for the benefit of the world, is so splendid; there has never been anything, I believe, in the history of the world so splendid before. I have no hesitation in repeating, while keeping that before our eyes, Mr. Chamberlain's admonition to us that we try to think imperially, provided we do so in the proper spirit, without pride or self-sufficiency, and with the object of being helpful to others as well as to ourselves. I believe that we shall find that is in itself a liberal education.

Now the second great question ahead of us is that of the relations of the British Empire and the United States. Here, fortunately, we are treading on ground which seems to me practically the surest and firmest of any in the whole domain of international relations. Any serious quarrel between the two great branches of the English-speaking world, is, I believe and hope, unthinkable. We have lived in peace for well over a hundred years and there is no question of vital importance which divides or can divide us and we have, fortunately I think, reached that point of familiarity and friendship where we can speak very frankly to each other, when we have some divergence of opinion, without taking it amiss.

There is one possible source of trouble and that is, perhaps, economic competition. In the March number of *Harper's Magazine* there was an excellent article on this subject by Mr. Arnold Toynbee, entitled, "America, England and World Affairs." It is very stimulating to thought and I would recommend it to you without necessarily endorsing all its views. It seems to me that without doubt the struggle for markets in the future will grow increasingly acute and we shall need calm and patient statesmanship to deal with such questions for the very reasor that when men begin to believe that their necessities of life, or even the luxuries they have become accustomed to regard as necessities, are in any way threatened or the cost of them increased owing to the competition of others, they are apt to get angry and the general atmosphere becomes very sultry. These economic causes of disturbances are rapidly becoming more widely felt if not always more wisely understood, and hence the necessity of keeping on the lookout for them and of keeping also a cool head in dealing with them.

And now, if I may say a few words more, to come to the last and most urgent problem, and the most important problem, which for the moment overshadows all the others, even that vital danger which Mr. Toynbee speaks about in the article already referred to, namely the Pacific-Asiatic danger, we have this problem—the urgent and immediate one of maintaining European peace. England, as Mr. Toynbee well observes, for the whole century from 1815 to 1914 thought that on the whole owing to her insular position, she could keep herself out of European entanglements and remain in splendid isolation. The only European war in which she engaged during that time was the Crimean War and that was more Asiatic than European. But in 1914 we were inevitably drawn in and found to our surprise and concern that modern inventions had reduced the twenty-one miles of sea that separates us from the Continent to a mere ditch, and that from now on we must inevitably be more closely concerned with all European affairs.

Up to then the natural and only policy of England, ever since we became a power in the world, was to prevent any one power from dominating Europe, which would have meant the extinction of our own liberties. For this reason we fought with Spain in the 16th century, with France in the 17th, 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries and finally with Germany in the 20th century, as the strength of each threatened to dominate Europe. We fought for our own liberties no doubt in the first instance, but also for the liberty of other nations as well, and this is what is meant by the doctrine of the balance of power which has been so much abused by ignorant critics of history of late.

None of us wants to return to that order of things again. God forbid that we should, for it can ultimately only end in war, and European peace is and must be our main objective. But in order to assist in maintaining peace in Europe we must continue to be intimately connected with all its affairs. We cannot live so indifferent to these affairs as the inhabitants of this North American continent can, for some time to come anyway. For this reason we are practically compelled to support the League of Nations, which has become a vital necessity for us as a great instrument of public opinion for the maintenance of peace. If the League were to disappear to-morrow we should be compelled once again to join some European combination against any country which threatened to dominate the Continent by overwhelming military or economic strength and this would be most dangerous for us, most dangerous for peace and most dangerous for our relations with the United States. We should have to return to the old system of the balance of power which, while it served its purpose in former days by protecting the liberties of individual nations could never protect us from the scourge of war and would not do so in future.

Therefore, gentlemen, it appears to me that the League ot Nations, simply regarded as an organ of public opinion by which the smaller nations have for the first time been able to make their voices heard on behalf of peace, is an essential and vital factor for peace since, if by any misfortune it were to break up and disappear we should inevitably fall back into the position in which we were before 1914, with this difference, that with every year that passes the engines of war become more and more destructive and the economic results of war more and more appalling.

I am far from discouraged at the late failure of the League to arrange for the entry of Germany into the Council of the League and so to put the coping stone on the Treaties of Locarno, On the contrary, after reading the speeches of the various statesmen connected with the Locarno Treaties and the Geneva meeting, after seeing how, after their return to their respective countries the principles of Locarno and the maintenance of the League were insisted upon and emphasized as necessary and vital to the interests of European peace, I am convinced that the idea of discussion of common matters of interest in the Areopagus of Geneva has definitely and finally taken hold of the imagination of the people and the belief in it, where formerly there was scepticism, has taken root in their hearts.

The will to have peace, the conviction of the necessity for co-operation by open discussion is growing, I believe, every day. The people mean to have it, the statesmen will be compelled to adopt it and see it through and not all the machinations of the militarist Junkers on the one side, or of red revolutionary Communists on the other, will be able to stem the rising tide in favour of peaceful settlement of disputes for which the League is the best instrument we have to hand.

There are, we must recognise, and will be immense difficulties to overcome. You cannot expect the European nations to change their whole mentality, acquired by centuries of inheritance and tradition, in a year or two, but things are moving in the right direction. A month or two ago, M. Briand, Prime Minister of France, speaking to the Chamber of his meeting the German delegates at Locarno, said: "I went, they came, and we spoke European together," and this phrase, gentlemen, was loudly applauded in the French Chamber. I felt we had indeed entered upon a new era. We have begun to talk European together.

Now you, gentlemen of the Rotary Club, who have been so good as to entertain me to-day with the Canadian Club and Empire Club, have adopted, I believe, the Golden Rule as your principle in life. It is a great ideal in private life, but we need to have it extended also to international affairs. If all nations are always bent on having their own way in international affairs there can be no peace. We must try to understand the point of view of others and be prepared to give up something of our own. Some sacrifice is always necessary to any fair and square deal. I hope that you Rotarians who are, I believe, growing in every country all over the world, will do your utmost to have the Golden Rule adopted in international politics and in private life. You can do much to help forward the progress of peace by working for this object. It is not Utopian. It is very practical politics for once the majority have this principle well fixed in their minds and have their hearts set on carrying it out we shall hear no more of wars and rumors of wars in any part of the world.

MR. DUNDAS (President of the Rotary Club) expressed to His Excellency the thanks of the meeting.

OUR INDIAN EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY MAJ.-GEN. SIR G. N. CORY, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 4, 1926.

SIR GEORGE CORY was introduced by the PRESIDENT, and spoke as follows:

I will start by saying that it may seem presumptuous to give a title such as "Our Indian Empire" to this address, except that by its width it allows one to pick and choose the things one would say. I will ask you at the beginning to follow me while I try to clear the air by explaining what India is. Rightly called our Indian Empire, it is a collection of countries, of people very varied in characteristics. There is more difference between the people in the south of India and the people in the north of India than there is between the Portugese and the Swedes. Their language is more different, their climate is more different, and the people themselves are far more different. They have in India a great many languages, a great many religions, a population of over three hundred million people, held together only by the central authority, which in our time, and in my belief, for many, many years to come, is that of the British Crown and the British Empire. Over and above that we have the eastern mentality, quite different from the western mentality. Practically every subject, practically every matter, they look at from a different angle and from a different point of view—such things, for instance, as their ideas of time and punctuality. Let me try and explain that to you. If you or any of us who have the good fortune to be married and have a family wish to take them to the seaside, or away on a railway journey, we make arrangements, buy our tickets, we decide whether the day train or the night train is best for the baby, whether we shall take food for our journey or trust to what we can get, and then go and get the train and off we go. They do exactly the same thing in India with this one exception; they make all these arrangements about the family, and then they go down to the station and then they ask what time the next train goes. If it does not go for 24 hours it makes no difference whatever; they feel neither pleasure nor disappointment over that fact.

As to the size of India, it would roughly fit into a square of two thousand miles to the side. It is bounded on the north by ranges of mountains culminating in the Himalayas, some of the highest peaks in the world. The north of India is flat and dry, very hot in summer and very cold in Winter. The southern part of India, roughly speaking, is a plateau 15,200 feet high,—southern and central India. In skipping over it like that I realize that there are many men who know India and various phases of India better than I do, but I wish to put it in the most general possible terms. One thing about India geographically is, that she has a coastline of between five and six thousand miles, kept intact by the invisible authority of the British Navy. Many men in India fail to realize that.

I wish now with your permission to outline my talk about as follows: a few words about the story of India, historically; something about the government of India as it exists today, in its modern tendencies; a few words about the native states, and a few words about the defence of India.

Historically, the first fairly definite records we have of India are of the invasion or migration of Aryan peoples which took place about 1400 or 1500 B.C., and they brought with them the Hindu religion and the Hindu system of caste. I think that is very generally recognized. It may interest you to know that the Archæological Department of the Government of India is now exploring buried cities in the Indus valley which are contemporaries of the Silurian civilization in Mesopotamia, and the old Egyptian civilization, that is, from

2000 B.C. backwards. The story of India from the time of Christ up to the British occupation of India consists largely of a number of invasions, all, or most of them, over the northwest frontier. Darius of Persia, Alexander the Great, Tamurlane, a host of minor conquerors, strong and virile people, came over the passes and carved out for themselves, sometimes a fairly lasting kingdom, sometimes held authority and ruled over the northern provinces of India for a few years only. Prominent amongst these were the dynasties of the Mogul Emperors. They reached the height of their power, the height of their wealth, and the height of their civilization about the time of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II, that is to say, about the time when the British occupation of India was beginning to move forward. In the year 1661 the island of Bombay came into possession of the British Crown through the marriage of Charles II, who got it as part of the dowry of his wife who was a Portugese princess. My old regiment was raised on that occasion to go out and garrison that island. It may interest you to hear that in our records it is shown that in the first three years our regiment was out there, all the officers except two died of fever, and possibly of drink, because they drank the native spirits and had no idea how to look after themselves. Then we had in those days British trading posts on the west and on the east of India, gradually moving their influence inland as their trade developed, and for purposes of their own advance raising troops. The East India Company by charter were allowed to trade in India and were allowed to raise and maintain their own troops. Moving rapidly forward, I would have you notice the date 1757, which was the Battle of Plassy which finally decided whether France or Great Britain should be the paramount European power in India. Then the story of our occupation in India goes forward, sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly, whether trade followed the wars or wars followed the trade, one never quite knows. The next really important event is the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, as a result of which the East Indian Company went out of existence, the land and the army were taken over by the Crown, and Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. That, in a very few words, is the story of how we found ourselves in India.

Indian affairs have since the war been brought more into prominence. Those of you who have not been out there have heard from time to time many stories of unrest, disturbances, difficulties. The Prince of Wales on his visit over four years ago now, was followed about by riots. You wondered why. In 1919 a reform scheme was brought in as the result of a report which was drawn up by the Viceroy, Lord Montagu, and the Secretary of State for India, Lord Chelmsford. As the result of that, India was granted certain reforms in the constitution, with the idea of giving Indians more and more responsible positions in governing their own country. As often happens in the East, that rather ran away with them, and it was the immediate cause of a great deal of political agitation. To put it quite shortly, the extremists amongst them wanted everything at once. I should like to tell you that the situation in India today is vastly improved over what it was four or five years ago when I first went out. This political agitation was, generally speaking, directed against us, and for a time the two great warring religions in India, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, came together in a political alliance, of which our government in India was the common enemy. That created a very, very difficult situation, but one which has gradually righted itself, through a certain exercise of firmness on the part of the Government of India, and a great deal of moderation and patience. Prominent in that movement, among the Hindus was Mr. Gandhi, a man who acquired a great reputation and enormous influence amongst the inhabitants of India, as they commenced to look upon him in some measure as a prophet and a holy man. One never can quite tell. The man himself, while he was in public life in India, undoubtedly lived a very saintly life. Undoubtedly, wherever he went he was followed by riots, disturbances, seditious speeches, and seditious articles in the newspapers. He was made use of by a number of very unscrupulous men, and in that aspect was a very great and real danger to the country. However, one does not know quite why his influence waned almost as rapidly as it rose. On the Mohammedan side were the Ali brothers. The Ali brothers took as the theme of their discourse the supposed antagonism of the authorities in the British Empire to the Mohammedan religion. Quite wrongly; but events in Turkey at that time lent a certain appearance of reality to this, and for a time they enjoyed great prestige. Mohammedans being on the whole a slightly stronger race of men in India, and more dangerous, the Ali brothers were put in jail by the government of India, and that agitation died away.

This reform scheme which is in existence now was brought in in 1919, and subject to revision in ten years' time, that is, in 1929. It has not been entirely satisfactory to either side; it is impossible to design a scheme of that sort which would be entirely satisfactory to either side. It is a sort of halfway house to home rule. The Government of India is now carried out firstly by the Viceroy and Governor-General-in-Council. His council consists of three Englishmen, three Indians, and the Commander-in-Chief in India is an ex-officio member. When the Viceroy is at the head of that table he is the Governor-General-in-Council, and as such has power to make certain enactments, very considerable powers. There are two houses, which correspond to the House of Commons and the Senate, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Legislative Assembly consists of elected representatives, with a few nominated members. Each man in the Viceroy's Council is a minister in charge of a department, and the elected members arrive there by a rather complicated process necessary in that country, where it has been found essential to have communal representation as well as area or locality representation. That is to say, suppose we throw ourselves back into the time of Queen

Mary and imagine that here in Toronto we have two great warring religions, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, it would then be probably essential to have representatives from each of those communities in whatever house we had, to watch their peculiar interests. Amongst us those feelings do not run so high. In India they have never run higher than they do today. The provincial governments are designed on the same lines as the central government. There is a government of each province in India, that is, the Council, and an Assembly. Certain subjects are reserved for the authority of the Governor-in-Council, and certain are debatable and votable by the Assembly; just as we have here in Canada, certain subjects reserved for the central government, and certain others under the authority of the provincial governments.

Now for a moment we shall turn to the Native States in India. About a third of India and about a fourth of the population is made up of independent native states, lying within the confines of India, ruled by their own princes. We have over a hundred states with different princes, and something like five or six hundred more. These vary in size from the largest, being about the size of Great Britain, to some of the small hill states which are only a few acres in extent. They are dealt with by the central government, and they function directly to the Viceroy. I was talking to the man who is responsible for them and he told me he was having his greatest troubles with a state in the hills because the ruler claimed to be, and was, a god, and whatever he said of course must be right, and it made it most difficult to have any dealings with him at all. Some of these princes are magnificent and incredibly wealthy; others are very, very poor. The wealthier one keeps a state of considerable oriental splendor, even to this day.

I might tell you a story about one of then, to illustrate what Oriental ideas are, and what gets into a man's head when he is an autocrat at the head of a great state. This man—he is dead now—had a birthday or some ceremonial occasion, and had an elephant procession through his capital, hundreds of elephants all dressed in gold and scarlet cloth, and a magnificent procession. The ruler himself, riding slowly along in the midst of them happened to look up and caught a pair of bright eyes in a balcony, which attracted his attention. He stopped the procession, got off his elephant and went in to pay a call. Enjoying himself and the society so much, he stayed there for two weeks, and all that time the procession waited in the street.

Just before I leave the subject of the government of India I would have you note the curious position they are in. They are a government elected in an elected and representative house which cannot be upset, no matter how many times the vote of the house may go against the Government; they cannot be turned out. I would also ask you to believe that some system of that sort is necessary in this transition period, for it will be many years before any considerable number of Indians acquire that sense of political responsibility which is so essential if they are to carry on the institutions in which we all believe.

As far as the budget of India goes, India pays no revenue to England or the British Empire at all. India pays the cost of the army, and the cost of the Indian Civil Service; that is to say, India is self-contained as far as her financial arrangements go. I wish I were more qualified to talk on industrial subjects which might interest many of you, but unfortunately I am not. I can only tell you India is a highly protected country, which they find necessary, and from the point of view of a European living in India the customs duties are very apt to be levied on the articles which we, as against the Indians, require, such as our clothes and things of that sort, because that part of the budget is adaptable and available; it is the line of least resistance. Whatever finance minister is in the House, if he wants a little more money, he takes the things which Europeans use, mostly. Therefore India is no longer a cheap country to live in.

I should now like to tell you a few things which we have done for India. In the first place there is the question of the security of her coasts, of which I spoke before. In the early days of the British occupation of India, the occupation of the coastal towns of India, piracy was very rife. The coastal traffic of India was carried on under very, very great difficulties; in fact it is a wonder that sometimes it was not stopped altogether. Today the Coastal traffic of India is very large, of enormous proportions. Turning into the country itself, we have railways, roads, canals, and security. Of these of course the greatest is security. Were we to leave India there is no doubt in the world that chaos would ensue. There have been many hard words said against the railway system of India, but there are many thousand miles of railway, and on the whole they run a very efficient service. The various companies are in process now of being taken over by the government of India. In the almost immediate future the whole of the railways of India will be government railways. The telephones in India are very good indeed. In Delhi and Simla they have had for many years the automatic telephone exchange, and some of the long distance speaking is excellent; they speak astounding distances. The greatest of all is the canals. I was riding the other day to the opening of a new barrage in the Punjab, one of the largest provinces in India, which in former years has been very largely desert, but has now under cultivation something like ten million acres of land. That means that over ten million acres of crops are produced and matured by irrigation, where formerly nothing grew because the rainfall was insufficient. That is almost exactly the area which is cultivated in England, and that is in one province of India, only. Just before I left I was driving by road in a car, and on my journey I got into the canal bank and drove a hundred miles along that bank, then left it because it was not going the direction I wanted to go. That will give you some idea of the extent ot these great canals. Thanks to that system and to the improvement in Transportation, I have been informed on very good authority in India, that there is no longer any possibility of famine in India.

Our authority in India has been based almost entirely on tolerance; I think with eastern people that is the securest foundation on which you can build, in the long run, religious tolerance, because to get those people's confidence you must not upset by government authority their cherished institutions and their religions. Missionaries have always and do now work in India, a great field of endeavor—one hears hard things said about them and one hears wonderful things said in their favor—but wherever and whenever they work they do so without the authority of the British government behind them; that is to say, the government, as a government, has never attempted to upset either the religion or the most cherished customs of the races of India. One or two babaric customs had to be changed, suttee, where the widow burned herself on her husband's funeral pyre, and such customs of that sort had to be stopped, but generally speaking the customs of India today are very much the same as the people themselves made them. In that great country you find people and tribes and races of men living in every state of civilization, from the aboriginees in Central and Southern India who use bows and arrows and live an incredibly simple life, to the modern wealthy Indian who is equally at home in Bombay or Calcutta or any of the European capitals. Every state from the one to the other you will find existing in India today. There are over a hundred languages and there are twenty of these languages which are spoken by over a million people.

Just a few words about the defence of India. The question of defence, with which I myself have of course been most intimately connected, looms very much larger in all matters of public interest than in any country of which I have had any experience. The responsibilities for the defence and the army lie mainly in two directions. The first is what we call out there internal security, that is, to keep law and order in India. That is to say, to be ready to come to the assistance of the civil power when that proves inadequate. The year I went out there, four years ago, apart from trouble on the frontier, which is very considerable, we had a great deal of trouble within India itself. There were many of these arguments which were directed against the government still in full swing, and during that year on ninety or a hundred occasions considerable bodies of troops were called out in aid of the civil power, all over India, from the far south to Rawalpindi in the north. And so we have, and have had for many years past, about a third of the army in India earmarked for these duties. The second and almost equally important duty, is watch and ward on the frontier. Another third of the army in India is earmarked for what we call the covering force. They live entirely in the north and west of India and their duties are to keep the land of India free from raids and from incursions by the tribesmen who live just beyond our borders. Along the north and west of India there is a belt of very rocky, very inhospitable, very poor, very rugged country, mountainous country, inhabitated by a whole host of various tribes of a more or less common origin, and common characteristics and common religion, the Mohammedan. These men from their poor and inhospitable country are very fond of raiding down into the wealthy lands of India, because just adjoining these hills lies one of the most fertile parts of India. They are accustomed to band together to raid down into the villages of India two or three days at a time, round up a village, burn it, kill the men, carry off the cattle and the women, and as much more as they can, and go back to the hills and talk about it. They are dangerous men too, very strong, incredibly active, and men who would quite happily cut your throat or mine for the pleasure which it would give them to feel their knife going through our flesh. They have a system of blood feuds with one another, and the milder people of the plains who dwell over against these hills are always at their mercy, but for our care of them. Beyond that, the frontier of India is suceptible to sudden waves of emotion which are usually worked up under a religious aspect. Then you get the priests amongst them proclaiming what they call a Jehud, that is a religious war, and that has sometimes in the past, and may again, spread across the frontier from end to end with extraordinary rapidity, and then we find ourselves with not one but half a score of small wars and expeditions on all at the same time. Therefore a third of the army is marked for that. And the remainder of the army we have divided out into organized divisions. It gives us only four which are available for a major war such as the case which has been within measurable possibility twice while I have been out, during the four years, that is a war with Afghanistan. The defence of India is so real and so vital a matter, that I have been told that even in a discussion of international disarmament it would be most unlikely that any committee of nations would even suggest that our army in India should be either disbanded or even cut down. The necessity for it is very generally realized.

The modern tendency of political life in India has been towards home rule, towards declaring themselves a dominion, and amongst the most extreme members of the political parties in India towards complete independence. I think that as time goes on the idea of complete independence is dying out very largely. They still have aspirations of becoming a dominion in the sense that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa are. In their wealth, in their population, they are entitled to such. In their cohesion amongst themselves, and in their sense of political responsibility to their country as a whole, they are not yet entitled, there is no doubt about that. The more moderate amongst them realize that. Our government is doing all it can to help them and teach them, but they have got a great deal to learn. They are the most charming of men, the educated ones, the ones one sees and lives amongst, although social life is different because the better educated women keep to themselves and remain in purdah, they are not allowed to meet strangers. That, by the way, is a matter of fashion and not so much of religion. That is the tendency in India and that movement is accelerated at times, and dies away at others. It has made it very difficult for the Englishman in India.

I should like to speak about our heritage in the country. I have spent the winter of each year I have been out there in Delhi; interested in the Mutiny, it has been my pleasure and privilege to take a great many visitors around and show them that little low-lying ridge outside this great walled city of Delhi, where in 1857 our troops held on through the heat of the long, long summer from early June until the 7th of September without shelter, enormously outnumbered, watching this great city packed with mutineers, staving off attacks of almost daily and nightly occurrence. More than that, they had the impudence and cheek to write home to their friends and relatives and speak of their operations as the siege of Delhi. They were besieged themselves but they hung on and they did their best; and I would ask you, and perhaps it comes with particular force at the moment when at a distance we seem to be almost standing in the shadow of a possible calamity, I would ask you to agree with me that our heritage in that country consists of trying to follow in those men's footsteps, that is, that we should hold on and do our best.

The PRESIDENT tendered to the Speaker the hearty thanks of the Club.

BONDS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS BY THE RT. HON. RT. REV. ARTHUR F. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, K.C.V.O., D.D., LL.D., LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, August 19, 1926.

The President introduced the speaker to the audience, which included many members of the Canadian Club.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON was received by the audience rising and cheering. He spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, and I must also add the President of the Canadian Club,: To-day I have to speak of a difficult question, in a way, and a serious question, in a way, and that is, the Bonds of the British Empire. You know that the British Empire is one of the most extraordinary things in this world. It is held together by invisible bonds which no one can see, but which no one can break. I am always very well received in New York, and you must not think I am poking fun at your neighbors across the invisible border, but when I was coming back with a millionaire to New York the last time and saw the Statue of Liberty, I said, "Hello, there is the Statue of Liberty!" He replied, "Yes, take a good look at it; it is all you will get over here." Well, now, I am sure that he was only joking; but at the same time, when you come to think of it, it is a very striking thing that we have absolutely got liberty; that our bond is nothing to bind; we do not have to lock our country and bind our states together and say, "You have got to join us." So far as I know, any one can leave the Empire to-morrow if they want to; but they don't want to go; that is the splendid part about it. Therefore, I say the British Empire is one of the most splendid things that exists in the world—because it covers the whole world. I am going around it, and I think I will find it covers the whole world, yet it is held together by one of those invisible bonds which nothing can break.

Now, let us think for a moment together, what are those wonderful bonds? We have almost come to take them for granted. The first one is the common blood. I went round this morning to my old friend Canon Cody's wonderful church of St. Paul's, of which I think all of Toronto is proud, whatever denomination they belong to, and the old verger—who came, I need not say, from Lancashire—said that when the first service was held at the opening of the war he never saw such a sight as when "Rule Britannia" was struck up at the close of the service. The call of the blood came right from end to end. The British ancestor may have been the man's grandfather or great grandfather, but it was the call of the blood that went through Canada from end to end when the Empire was in danger; so that with all the people I meet I find the blood when I go down skin-deep, and people tell me, "Well, my father came from so-and-so." Sir John Aird tried to persuade me yesterday that he was a Frenchman—but when you go a little further you find the Irish brogue coming out.

The first thing which really binds us all together in this wonderful common tie is the common blood which really flows through our veins. It is this invisible, wonderful thing; and there is nothing so wonderful as the call of the blood; and we know that there are men to-day working on prairie farms that are as truly answering to the call of the blood as they did when the war came. Therefore, in regard to the Empire Settlement Plan of which I will speak, I am very anxious to keep Canada supplied with British stock. We came over in a ship with hundreds of people who were coming to settle in Canada, but who did not understand a word that I said. I found this out when a baby was to be baptized. I happen to be Bishop of the High Seas; every baby born on the High Seas is reported to my diocese and registered in the Old Parish Church of Stepney, in East London; and every baby that is buried on the High Seas is registered in that Stepney Church. Well, as Bishop of the High Seas I felt bound to baptize that baby, but they did not understand one word of the service until I took the baby in my arms, then they understood what was going on; but all those foreigners were coming out to Canada. I do not quarrel with that for the moment, for you must fill up these vacant places somehow; but do not let these foreigners out-number our people.

I am going to speak to-morrow at Convocation Hall on the whole scheme called "The Church Settlement Scheme," and therefore I am not going to inflict it on you to-day.

But I want to say this, that we have 14,000 parishes in England where we gather the people, and we cover the whole ground; there is a parson in every parish. I quite admit that they are not all parsons of the right sort—I must be quite honest at my part of the table; but the great majority of those parish priests throughout England are hard-working, praise-worthy men, and none more so than the country clergy. Now, we want to put this vast organization, the whole thing, at the disposal of the Government of the day, so that in every place there may be a man who can say to Mrs. Jones, or whoever it is, "Your boy has got no work here; he is a good fellow; why don't you let him go out to Canada?" If there is any objection made, that parson will answer it and he will put that boy in touch with our headquarters; and we send out £1000 a year to the organization here, as well as to Australia and New Zealand, to promote and perfect the organization. I am going to Australia and New Zealand when I have gone to China and Japan. Now, we want to have this organization perfected, so that from end to end of Great Britain we may send out to you praiseworthy, picked young men and young women. All we ask of you in Canada is to give them a hearty welcome. Do not let us hear of boys in distress. Do not let them say, "We went to Canada and we got no work; there was no organization." That is rotten, bad business. The work can be done perfectly well by

Canada and Great Britain joining hand-in-hand and shoulder-to-shoulder to work this matter out.

What we want are five expert business men on this side and have five expert business men on the other side. Do not let us have any politics mixed up in it at all. Let us have the thing done, and have all those men understand the matter, because migration is flagging; it is not being managed as it ought to be. We have a million and a half in Great Britain, and there is so much friction, so much difficulty, that we are not getting them out into the great sister nations as we ought to be.

Now I must not say more on that point. After the bond of the common blood there comes that strange and imaginary influence that we call the common homeland. Of course I found out on my first visit here that if there was one loyal country in this world it was the Dominion of Canada. I was speaking at a luncheon, and when I mentioned the name of the King, before I could finish my sentence the whole audience were on their hind legs and singing "God Save the King." Therefore I am not pleading for loyalty in Canada, because I believe there is no more loyal Dominion in the whole Empire than the Dominion of Canada. But do we all realize what the flag stands for? We believe that wo really are standing for wonderful things in the history of rhe world. We are standing for liberty, for justice, for the white purity of home life. Those are the things which have made the old country great, and those are the things that are going to make this young country great. We have a common flag, which means we are standing for the ideals that have made England so great.

That is why I fight this unpopular battle at home against the increase of divorce. We do not want divorce so common as it is in some parts of the American continent. We want to keep the purity of home life, and we are fighting for that. I mentioned liberty. At home you will sometimes see my portrait in *Punch*. I do not mind it a bit; in fact, I rather like it, even when being attacked as narrow-minded. What I am standing for, my brothers, is those principles of justice, mercy and purity which I believe form the foundation and strength of our land. Therefore we have a common flag.

Then we also have a common, if not uniform, religious bond, and we must make the most of it in spite of our differences. I have often spoken of the harm done by the divisions of Christendom. I will quote you a sight I saw in Nova Scotia more than once; in a little town of a thousand people four little churches—or big churches, they were—all exactly alike. You could not tell the Anglican from the Presbyterian, the Presbyterian from the Wesleyan, or the Wesleyan from the Congregationalist. They were all in a row, built by the same architect, and one was big enough for a whole town. Well, I looked upon that as a wicked waste of money and energy, and a cause of friction. We should strive intelligently to minimize such waste of money and energy in Christendom, and we are doing our best to heal such divisions.

However, things have happened. For two years we have had conferences at Lambeth House with the Wesleyans; they were nearest to us in doctrine, so we started with the Wesleyans, hoping they would take up again with the Anglicans. As often happens, the tail threw over the head; but the conference had this effect, that when the Church of England brought to the House of Commons what is called the Enabling Bill—which, as you have seen, has been of enormous benefit to us for five years—the head of the Wesleyans, Sir John Roundell, wrote to me and said, "You may wonder why in the House of Commons we do not pass your bill. The fact is, we found such a brotherly spirit at Lambeth House these two years that we were not capable of passing anything really good enough for the Church of England." Now, that is what I consider to be the right spirit. We do not want to do away with any principles; we do not want to take any short-cut, or upset people by really asking them to give up principles; but I believe we ought to have and to foster the spirit of love, mutual respect, and harmony together. So we may talk of a common religion as one of the great invisible bonds which bind this great Empire together.

I find no difficulty, myself, in the least. I have been for twenty-five years Bishop of London, and for five and twenty years I have been elected by every denomination, including the Roman Catholics, as Chairman of Public Morality in London, and also by the County Council when they put in any chairman at all. That shows what you can do if you work together with mutual respect. You can hold the common religion together in a common bond that nothing will break.

Then we go on to the other bonds, which, when you look at them, are more or less invisible, and yet tremendously strong. For instance, as you go about you see the family life on which we have all been brought up and fostered. We find that very strong in a new country; and when you put together this common religion and this common call of the blood, you get what will still bind us together, that is, a common interest. You know all this very well, but I am going along to Australia, and will say these things there. It is all very well for Australia to speak about the "white Australia"; but where would Australia be but for the British Fleet?

I went around the British fleet at the time of the war; and this will bring me to my last point—the common sacrifice. I stood with Admiral Beatty and Admiral Jellicoe, and saw three hundred great battleships, at the time of the war. Do we realize the great strength of our sea-power? The British fleet is one of the finest bonds which anybody can have. I met there people from Canada, from Australia, from New Zealand; and we all met together on Admiral Jellicoe's flagship. Maybe some of you have been there. The more I see of it the more I feel that it is a common interest which binds these great sister nations together. I do not mind saying that I am one of those who think that we ought to trade much more within the Empire than we do. I do not want any connection with politics in what I am saying to-day, but personally I think there ought to be much more preference in the British Empire, that we may help one another more in our common interest. This I feel perfectly certain of, that if we are really to progress, both the Old Country and the great daughter nations, it is the common interest which binds us together in these tremendous bonds.

Lastly, I come to the common sacrifice. Now, I am not for a moment going to speak as if the War were the main or only sacrifice that we have seen. What about those Imperial Loyalists who came out and fought up here, and really started Canada? What about the sacrifices, the hardships, with which they wrung a hard living out of the soil? I think this Empire has really been bound together by sacrifice. My heart goes out to them when I see those people migrating to Winnipeg, to Edmonton, to the Coast, ready to carve their living out of the land. We cannot get on without the farmers, and we should look upon these brave people who are making great sacrifices in this new land, almost as great as were made by the soldiers in the War, with the greatest honour and respect.

I had the great privilege of addressing the Canadian soldiers when they were only a few miles from the Germans, and I often think what a splendid haul the Germans could have got with a bomb, with the Bishop of London, and 10,000 Canadians as a target. But within three weeks 5,000 of those men had fallen, killed or wounded; 22 of those young officers were killed. I shook hands with every one of the 22 in the little service, for I took the service at the grave and also the memorial services in St. Paul's Cathedral, and paid honour to their great sacrifice.

But do not let us forget, if we were bound together in the old days by this tie, this common bond of sacrifice, we are bound more closely together now. There our boys are lying in the same soil; they died in the same cause; and if ever there was a danger in the old days—which I do not think there was—of Canada slipping away from Great Britain, there is the red cord of sacrifice now which nothing can break.

I spoke of the threefold cord that would never be broken. I have a five-fold cord now; and if you think out what this means, these five universal, and great, and enormously strong cords which bind the British Empire together, let us keep them strong; let us have no misrepresentations in our political disputes to weaken them for a moment; and if we carry on our Empire in that spirit of self-sacrifice and service the British Empire shall be in the future, as I believe, an even greater boon to mankind than ever it has in the past.

MR. GEORGE H. SEDGWICK, President of the Canadian Club, voiced the appreciation of the united clubs.

EMPIRE BUILDING

AN ADDRESS BY DIWAN BAHADUR, SIR T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA, K.B.E.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Sept. 7, 1926.

The guest of the day was introduced by COL. ALEXANDER FRASER, who occupied the chair in the absence of the President.

The DIWAN

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—I happen to belong to the British Empire Club in Great Britain. It is a great pleasure for me to be welcomed by a sister club, if I may so venture to call it, in Canada. I asked my friend Col. Fraser to tell me what the motto of your club was; he tells me, it is "Canada and the Empire." I can think of no more appropriate motto and of no greater ideal for the people who live within the British Empire—Canada and the Empire. I believe all Canadians, whatever political group they may belong to, whatever Province they may live in, are united in this one aspiration that they are contented to live within the Empire, they are proud to live within the Empire, and, God willing, they will always be within the Empire. And my message put in a few words is simply this; India in the Empire, India contented to be in the Empire, India is proud to be in the Empire, and, God willing, India will forever remain within the Empire. For the last three days I have been on a visit to adjoining territory, outside the Empire, and coming back this morning to Canada, the very first thing which struck me was that it is like coming back home; that is no exaggeration whatever. I have been here only just two weeks; I do not know what it is, but I think the secret is what the chairman put in a few words just now, it is just one touch of Empire that makes us all kin, eastern and western, I think it is that that made me feel I was coming back home when I reached the Canadian frontier. I have met a few interesting things outside. I met a political extremist from my own country who is now in the States. I asked him what were his feelings. He said, "You know very well what my views were when in India; they are altered." I said, "That is very interesting; how are they altered? Are you a greater extremist than ever? Usually extremists go on to the end." I said, "Have you gone to the very end." He said, "No, I think I have been a bit cured; I think I would rather like to go within the Empire." That is not very surprising. For one thing, I am now talking from the Indian point of view; take the great public services in India. We take all our traditions of the public services from Great Britain and we know very well in our own generation we have seen what the influence of these traditions has meant. There is a great political leader in India, he was a leader once, not so much now, but he was a great political leader in India. He has travelled all over the world, and his views were just the very reverse of what an Imperialist should be, and he has not very much reason to be grateful to the Indian government because for some time he was a political prisoner. But the other day when I met him in Marseilles, I asked him what he thought. He said, "I have travelled all over the world. The purest public life, I do not want to confess, but I have got to confess—the purest public life in the whole world is found in Great Britain." That is a tribute, an unwilling tribute, but all the more therefore, a valuable tribute, which is paid to the purity of the administration and India has got the great benefit of deriving its traditions for its public service from that country.

Take our judicial service in India We derive our traditions from England. Of course, I know people outside of the ranks of lawyers and judges, say in India, just as in England, the judges are considerably overpaid. They think these gentlemen sit in court trying to decide which is more probable of two lies, and drawing large salaries for so deciding. But in India on account of the fact that we have native states ruled according to old judicial systems, what we have discovered is that it is one of the essential conditions for the progress in a country to have thoroughly upright and thoroughly independent judiciary, and that we have got in British India. If Great Britain had done nothing else but established those judicial traditions in British India, it would have gone far to justify its task in that country.

Take our Parliamentary institutions. I know a certain number of my countrymen are not satisfied with the rate of progress; they think things ought to go faster. Well there are always people in every country who think things are not moving fast enough. There are on the other hand very large numbers of people who think things are moving too fast and in a country like India there are a large number of people who think things are not moving fast enough and another large body of people who think they are moving too fast. You may be sure that the truth is that we have arrived at a happy medium. Great Britain has declared, the British Parliament has declared, in a famous declaration which was embodied in law in 1919, that the goal of India is Parliamentary self-government within the Empire, and to that goal India is every day getting nearer and nearer, and I cannot conceive of any better future for my country than being within this Empire, than having its own government, but having its own government within the bounds of the British Empire. I am not ashamed of my belief and my loyalty to the Empire. I have got no restrictions, no qualifications to put upon my loyalty to the Empire. Some of you may think me perhaps too much of a fanatic; I am glad if I am that, a fanatic in a good cause like this. As I said, I have no restrictions to put on my loyalty. My loyalty to the Empire is complete, it is irrespective of any qualifications; there are no questions of mental equivocation, no mental reservations; my loyalty is complete and thorough, and that I believe is the case with the majority of my countrymen. They realize fully, as I believe you realize fully in this great Dominion of Canada that for our countries, the greatest possible progress politically and other ways,—it is quite possible that we can work out our own destinies, but that we work out our destinies very much better in cooperation with the British Empire. In fact I am prepared to go further and if I am asked, "What is the greatest political institution today in history which stands for the peace and progress of mankind?" I have no hesitation in answering, it is the British Empire. There is of course a League of Nations and many of us are in sympathy with its aspirations and its aims; but consider the work done by the British Empire so far; consider how much it stands for the peace of the nations and compare it with the work which the League of Nations can do and will do in the future. I think it is very safe to assert that the British Empire is not only a League of Nations but a very effective League of Nations. We are all happy to be within the Empire, we are proud of the Empire, and we have got a big affection for the other members of the Empire, but we have no disaffection, we have no enmity for nations outside the Empire. We do not want to get any unfair advantage over other nations. All that we want is to be left alone to work out our own destiny and if among ourselves we have a closer bond of intimacy, that is no reason why other nations should quarrel with us. We propose to be a happy family of nations within the Empire, but we have got no quarrels with other families outside our Empire, and the existence of the Empire is not only a guarantee for the progress of its own constituent parts but is a guarantee for the peace and welfare of the rest of mankind. That is what distinguishes the British Empire from other Empires. We do not want to perfect our weapons of war with a view to gaining an unfair advantage over other nations but all that we want is to be left alone to work out our own destiny and in that I believe all the nations, whether of the east or of the west, within the Empire, are agreed. In India we feel that within the bounds of the Empire, there is an affection which binds us all together, with the tie of common allegiance to King George, which binds all the members of the Empire together, whether eastern or western, whether Asiatic or European and that the bond of political allegiance is thicker than other bonds of race or religion, or creed. And loyalty to King George I believe is that which not only depends upon a whole number of sentimental associations reaching down into the past, these sentimental associations binding as much the monarchy as they bind India, but it also depends on a very large number of good logical reasons. During a period when some of the proudest monarchies of Europe have tumbled down, it is safe to say that the monarchy of Great Britain has during that very period strengthened its hold on the affections and feelings of the vast majority of people living not only in Great Britain but also in all the great Dominions which are attached to Great Britain. In India particularly the name of King George, the institution of the monarchy carries with it a particular sanctity to the ordinary Indian, I would say even to the educated Indian, a tie which seems to him to centralize the whole Empire, the one thing which forms the uniting bond of the Empire is the person of the King. It is difficult for the ordinary Indian to conceive of a loyalty in the abstract to the British constitution, to the King advised by his ministers and by about 625 members of Parliament. It is a very worthy body with which we are all proud to be associated, but the ordinary Indian is more simple in his mind. He likes to have a direct personal feeling of loyalty to King George—and if for no other part of the Empire, for the sake of India at least, to keep India within the Empire, if there were no King we should have to invent one. But it is lucky for us that we have a King who need not be invented; we have a King whose dynasty stretches back far into the past and around which great associations have gathered.

In this connection may I tell a short story. In 1919 there was a rebellion among certain sections of the population in the Province of Punjab at a place called Amritsar. There were quite a number of scenes of violence; the people burnt a few Post Offices and a few banks and were marching to the next place to loot, but then just in front of one of the banks they were burning was a statue of Queen Victoria. One man in the mob suggested, "Let us go and pull down that statue," but the crowd said, "Let the great Ranee alone." "Ranee" means Queen and in India to-day Ranee always means Queen Victoria. "Let the great Ranee alone; she is a very good queen; it is her ministers who are at fault." Then the whole crowd stopped and went around the statue three times in Indian fashion, prostrated themselves before it, and then proceeded to their next act of mischief. That shows the hold which the institution of royalty has laid upon the imagination of the Indian people and to very large sections of the Indian population their loyalty to the Empire is loyalty to King George. Not that they are not appreciative of the numerous benefits they derive from the British connection, it is the British connection that has been responsible for making India a nation, and the fact that in the Indian nation a political nationality and political unit has been inconvenient to the administrators in many ways has not disuaded Great Britain from pursuing her task of building up Parliamentary constitutional institutions for India. That it is another point in which I venture to say Britain stands alone. We alone of all the nations have found it possible after the Great War to go back and put our former enemies in the ruling places. Witness the case of South Africa. Witness the case which happened in this great country. Witness what has happened in India itself, where several times the men who had just been against the Government, in one case the men who had been imprisoned, transported for life, then a few years after the constitutional system had begun the work, they found themselves taking the oath of allegiance to King George as his ministers in India. Facts like these appeal to the imagination, appeal to the reason, appeal to the logical mind of everybody in India. The result is that whatever may be people's little quarrels with their own government, when the hour of trial comes India will be found side by side in the same place where I have no doubt Canada will be found, New Zealand will be found, Australia will be found, and the rest of the Empire will be found.

1914 found within a month of the war breaking out how all the nations of the Empire stood side by side together in spite of whatever inferences might have been drawn by our enemies to the contrary; and I am perfectly certain that during times of peace that have followed, we shall stand side by side together, and my mission to Canada is just this; let us in peace work out and extend the comradeship which we held during the war; let us feel that we are brethern drawn closer to each other; let us in the pursuits of peace, let us in the business of commercial intercourse, let us treat each other as brethren, as favored brethren within the pale, and let us all try to bring ourselves nearer one another. Let India understand Canada, let Canada understand India, let all of us feel proud of the Empire and all of us work shoulder to shoulder in peace as we worked in war. In a short word that is the message I bring, Canada in the Empire, India in the Empire, Canada and India together within the Empire.

Mr. George Wilson expressed to the Diwan the thanks of the Club.

A BRITISH VIEW OF CANADA

AN ADDRESS BY RT. HON. LORD DARLING OF LANGHAM.

Before the Empire Club of Canada and The Canadian Club of Toronto, at Toronto, Thursday, September 30, 1926.

MR. GEORGE H. SEDGEWICK, the President of the Canadian Club, introduced LORD DARLING, who spoke as follows:—

Mr. President and gentlemen, it is a great honor to one who, like me, has passed his life in trying to do justice, as your president has told you, to find that there are so many people on the side of justice after all, as I see assembled in this room. And I will say this on behalf of British justice: I always found during all the time I was on the bench, and it was a long time, that the defendants themselves, who came up in criminal cases, acknowledged that they were fairly treated. If they were in any difficulty as to what to do, over and over again I have known them to consult the judge, either myself or whoever happened to be the judge of the Assizes, as to what their course should be; and never during all the time I was on the bench did I find any resentment on the part of the prisoner as to the sentence I had imposed on him. That he enjoyed it I don't pretend. I did not mean he should. And I am sure that if people, especially the judiciary, take to rewarding prisoners for the crimes they have committed instead of awarding them the punishment the prisoner himself knows he has deserved, the judiciary and the people who make the laws will incur the contempt of the criminal classes themselves.

Now I am asked here by these two societies, the Canadian Club and the Empire Club, because I come from that little island which was the home of you all or of your ancestors. From that origin nearly all of you sprung, and I know very well from the kindness with which I have been received in Canada during all the time I have been here, and everywhere I have gone, I know very well that your hearts are still in the homeland although you live in this one and, of course, have your affections in the towns and country of Canada itself. I have travelled from one to the other of those seas which wash the shores of Canada, and I have seen, of course, cities which have been a considerable time in existence, adorned with splendid buildings, designed to last for the centuries they will be wanted for the making of laws, and for the administering of laws, and for the education of the citizens of this land. And I have travelled through what are at the present moment almost unoccupied wastes that will fill up with, as I hope, the right kind of people of the race to which you belong. And as one travelled through these places and reflected upon what it must have been to those who came here first, who cut down the first trees, who made the first huts and homes in this country, one could not help thinking how much we all owe to them, and recalling words which were not written by a Canadian but an American of the New England States when he described these as men whose life glided on like a river that watered the woodland, darkened by shadows of earth but reflecting the image of Heaven.

These men did not relapse into the habits and customs of the ferocious savages by whom they were surrounded. They led the highest life they could, and taught it to the original inhabitants so far as they were capable of learning it, and they themselves developed painfully and laboriously the country which you now enjoy and which is only beginning, I am perfectly certain, to place at your disposal the whole of its unbounded wealth. It only needs the determination—I wish there were more of it in the old country—not to quarrel to divide what there is, but to increase the store; not by trying to do as little work as possible, but trying to do as much work as you are capable of. That is the way to make a country flourish. I happen to be, as I told you, a lawyer, and I have drawn as much wisdom as I possess largely from the sayings of lawyers on other things than law. Among the greatest of the judges I recollect was Lord Bramwell. He said many wise things and he said one thing—I will read it—which applies to this question of what to do when it is difficult for you to get a living in your own country: "Don't go to another country and try to get it there under another flag. Stay in your own and see if you cannot make more of the resources at your own door." And Baron Bramwell among other things said this: "If a man has the misfortune to lose his spring of water by another man digging a well, he must dig his own well deeper." It is not my business to make particular application of that aphorism, but your statesmen might do worse than bear it in mind when they have to consider what will be the best thing to ensure the prosperity of Canada.

There are those in England, and they are most of them our importations from Russia or some such happy country, who profess to have found a perfectly new way of developing a country and making it prosperous, making it flourish like the rose, as you see their own country doing—living on the sale of crown jewels—and that is the doctrine preached by the socialists. I mention this because Lord Bramwell said another, it seems to me, very wise thing about that matter. It will seem to you unnecessary to speak of it, because I read the other day a speech delivered in Canada by a gentleman who was a member of the late Labor Government in England, Mr. F. O. Roberts. And Mr. Roberts was disappointed. He had come to Canada and had talked to the working men, and he said in this speech that he found very few socialists among them. Well, that was a mere statement of fact, but he went on to give the audience a reason, and he said the reason was because they were so contented with things as they have them in Canada. If you are contented with things you have got it is very foolish to adopt a philosophy, as though that could make you any better, and it seems to me that disappointed as Mr. Roberts might be, one cannot help being gratified that however unhappy it may make him the workmen of Canada at all events are perfectly happy and contented. And whether this socialism can ever prevail or not appears to me to have been determined by Lord Bramwell in a few words he spoke, which are these: "Socialism will never bloom until we are all as honest as the bees."

Well, I believe that to be perfectly true. If we were all as honest as the bees what should we all do? We should do what the greater part of these people desire not to do. We should work for a living. We should not do what we have seen them do in Russia. We should do what, according to Mr. Roberts, the working men of Canada are doing and we should have no need to become, socialists. We shall always have among the bees a certain number of drones—and they will most of them be public orators. Well, we have our own remedy. Let them talk to the empty air—and live on it!

Now Canada stands in a peculiar position, it may seem. Canada is a great country absolutely capable, if it chose to do so, of governing itself—absolutely capable. But it happens to be one among a number of countries who are proud, I believe, to live under the same flag, absolute equals, everyone knowing that it can go its own way if it chooses, but satisfied that the best thing to do is to cling together and to help one another, and so long as they do this it is very improbable that anyone will attack them.

I remember when I was quite young I was given a book called Æsop's Fables. I have it still. And among the fables was that of the husbandman who came home and wanted to light the fire. He picked up a bundle of sticks and tried to break the bundle in half, and put half of it on the fire. He could not do it. There was a picture which showed him to be as strong as Hercules, but he could not do it. But he was an intelligent man, for a husbandman, and so he undid the string which bound them together, which one might call the constitution of the Allied Kingdom and Dominions under the British flag. He undid that ligature, and he took the sticks one by one and broke them quite easily. That is an old, old parable, but it is true to this day; and as long as those who have the Government of the Kingdom and Dominions over which the Union Jack floats, as long as they remember that parable they can defy the strongest power in the world. They need acknowledge no superior but the Heaven above them; and what a width of Heaven is here when you consider where the British Empire begins and where it ends—if it does end.

I have noticed that there are those who are saying that at present there are signs of enfeeblement in the British Empire, particularly in England. I think the people who imagine that of the English will find they are making a great mistake. The people who rejoice to think that England is poor—and England is much poorer than it was, for reasons that you know very well—are rejoicing over a matter which should give them no satisfaction, because I can imagine nothing worse for the rest of the world than for England to be reduced to poverty and find themselves surrounded by rich neighbours. People had better take care to leave the English their fair share of the world and what is in it, and especially I would say that of the Scotch. But if we are weak and in peril we have powerful neighbours; and I have been interested in reading to-day in a Toronto newspaper, I think it was the *Globe*, some reflections upon a generous offer made to you Canadians by the *Tribune*, a paper published in Chicago; and I gather that the *Tribune* is concerned for your parlous condition. It seems to think that England won't be able to defend you—against whom I don't know. Perhaps there may be some little reason for that; I do not think it is a sufficient one. Some time ago a congress was held at Washington with a view to diminish armaments of various countries, because it was thought the people in those countries were spending more than they could afford on armaments of various kinds, and particularly that England was spending too much on warships. So it was proposed at Washington, and carried unanimously, that the warships of England in future should be smaller; and the ones that are now being built, certain of them, are made a good deal smaller, in deference to that opinion; they are shorter, narrower; they do not carry so many guns. Do you know what they are called in the British Navy? They are called the Cherry-Tree Class. I asked a sailor why; for the ship did not look like a cherry-tree, and he said, "Oh, because they were cut down by Washington."

Well, the *Tribune*, finding us defended by nothing but cherry-trees, wrote this: "Canada knows that she can rely upon the United States to protect her territorial integrity under the terms of the Monroe Doctrine." I did not know that the Monroe Doctrine covered Canada, but I am glad to hear it does, and I will tell you why; because Canada is a part of the British Empire, and therefore the Monroe Doctrine, I take it, covers the whole British Empire; and therefore I am beginning to hope that we Britons need not raise any soldiers at all, need not have even the cherry-tree class of battle-ships; that we can quarrel with whomsoever we please, and that when those people come to chastize us, let us say the blow be directed to London, we have only to use the wireless to Washington and say, "Here is a terrible thing; here are the people infringing the Monroe Doctrine," and they will flock across the Atlantic to our help.

Now, there is only one thing which makes me doubtful whether we should entirely rely upon the protection of the United States. It is this: I am wondering when they would start—and whether we might not find ourselves chawed up before they arrived. So, as long as I have that doubt, if I were talking politics I should advise you Canadians to trust to yourselves—and not to say, "Whenever we are in trouble we invoke the Monroe Doctrine." Oh no; whenever we are in trouble we will just ask the assistance of those men who were among the very first to land upon the shores of France when France was set upon unjustly, when monstrous demands were made upon her; when they were invaded. Who was it who came first to their assistance? Of course the English were first there, because the width from Dover to Boulogne or to Havre was nothing as compared with that from Canada to the nearest port on the Continent;

but as fast as ever they could arrive, in numbers which no one had contemplated, the Canadian troops came; and why? Because it was the Empire that was involved. Everyone knew, you knew, that the Germans did not merely wish to get to Paris. They would have enjoyed themselves very well if they did get there, no doubt, but that was not it; what they wanted quite as much to get to, and what they would have got to but for the assistance of the Canadians, was the Channel ports that faced England, from which they could have struck at the very heart of the Empire, which is yours as much as it is mine. It was because of that, partly, that the War was made; and it was because of that that the Canadians, seeing at once, with the intelligence characteristic of them, what it all meant, did not wait for conscription, but dashed across as fast as they could come; and the only lament that one can feel in visiting this country is that it is now short of population because so many gallant men among you lie in France and elsewhere in places where the War of the British Empire was waged.

I have mentioned the kind offer of America to save us from our enemies, and it only needs to understand exactly what America is in the minds of those who were lately our enemies. I have discovered that there was once a philosopher whose name was Galetti, who was a professor at the University of Gotha, and he said this, among other things—showing how easy it is to misunderstand America. He said to his students in a lecture: "If Persia were a three-sided square like America it would be easy to measure it." Well, I suppose one would need to be a German professor to thoroughly understand that, and I myself confess that I am not able exactly to measure America. I never could understand why I did not quite understand America from north to south and from east to west. But now I see; Professor Galetti has enlightened me; it is all because I had come to the conclusion that America is not, as he supposed, a three-sided square, because if it were so it would be as easy to measure as it is to understand and measure Persia. I have come to the conclusion that there was some fault in the reasoning of this professor, and that the whole difficulty in not exactly understanding America is that it is not a three-sided square—and I do not see how we can ever expect that it will be one. Meanwhile we must do our best; thank them for their kindness in offering to protect us from anyone who may assail Toronto, Quebec, or the Isle of Wight—and say that, after all, we must try to get along as well as we can with the cherry-tree class.

It is interesting to note that not only I had some difficulty in understanding Professor Galetti, but some of his students had, because in this same lecture he said to them, "Three years ago there was a giant who came here. He was three feet and a half high leaving out his head." The students said, "That was not very high, professor," and Professor Galetti said, "No, but he was also a dwarf.' That is where some people may make a little mistake about Canada. They may think Canada is not quite so big as some other place. Canada, they may think, is a dwarf. Yes, perhaps so; but then, as Professor Galetti said, "Canada is also a giant"; and those who merely take Canada for a dwarf, for a not over-populated country, make a mistake in not recognizing that although the population of Canada is not as large as that of some other countries, they are people of a very exceptional class; they are people who not long ago have come here and converted this country from a waste and a wilderness into what we see it; it will not do only to count the Canadians when you deal with them; you must reckon up what manner of men they were, what is the race to which they belong, what is the training they have had, what is their character as those with whom they have had to deal know it; and they will come to the conclusion that although it may appear to others to be only a dwarf, as Professor Galetti said, it is a giant as well.

COL. ALEXANDER FRASER expressed the thanks of the united clubs to the speaker for his address.

OUR NORTHERN HERITAGE

An Address by CAPTAIN J. E. BERNIER, F.R.G.S.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, October 7, 1926.

Col. Alexander Fraser, Vice-President of the Club, introduced the Speaker, who illustrated his talk with lantern slides.

CAPTAIN BERNIER

Gentlemen, I do not come before you as a representative of the Government, but as a member of the Government Service for 22 years, during which I have taken possession of all the Arctic Islands that belonged to England, some of them having been surveyed by Franklin, Horne, Maclure, McClintock and many others. When I spoke here some 17 or 20 years ago I was greatly assisted by firms like Christie, Brown & Co., who gave us biscuits that were cached in the north, and they kept alive other explorers who found them 17 years afterwards, The Maclaren Cheese Company also furnished us with food supplies, and Mason & Risch gave us a piano to help our enjoyment during the long dark nights in the north. To all these people I tender our most sincere thanks.

It would be impossible for me to give anything like a comprehensive view of such an immense subject, but I will endeavor to touch the high spots briefly as the pictures are shown.

When I was two years old I went with my father who had shipped a cargo of naval goods for the Crimean war. We went up the Bosphorus, and they bombarded Sebastopol, when we were ordered to go back to Malta to discharge our cargo. After sailing for five more years I went to school, and after leaving school at 12 years of age I shipped as a boy on my father's vessel, and I did my own work and did not trust to other people, and in three years I was a master, and my father told me I could go. Since then I have commanded a ship almost continuously, and have made in the neighborhood of 260 voyages in all parts of the world. I am now 75 years old, but am still going strong. I pity those who have nothing to do. I am now preparing for another voyage, which will be a private commercial venture. My pictures to-day will show you the amount of energy I have spent in conquering all those islands in the north, assisted with the certain knowledge that I got from others. No credit is due to me, more than that I followed the eminent explorers whose records I found, which are our titles. What they said was true.

Here you see me in my study; while Governor of Quebec Jail for four years I studied in this quiet spot. Here I made charts, and worked constantly at the problems connected with the North. I learned by experience that if you work with Nature you are bound to succeed; otherwise you are sure to fail.

In order to navigate the north, the first requisite is a good ship. The Canadian Government bought this ship, the "Arctic," and I made 12 trips to the north with her. With a good ship and proper men, and working in accordance with Nature, you can succeed; there is no other way. In regard to the ice in Northern waters, it is the same as in the Atlantic and has to be managed in the same way. This ship came from Germany. She has full sail, and an engine of 87 horse power. This picture shows her going before the wind, with ice on the quarter-bow. We keep clear of ice as well as we can, but when she is going full speed ahead we have to be careful. We are near Baffin Land; this island you see was given to us by Great Britain in 1880, and to-day I call it Canadian territory. These natives you see are no longer Eskimos; they are Canadians, and we have to look after them.

I first took possession of Baffin Land for Canada in the presence of several Eskimo, and after firing 19 shots I instructed an Eskimo to fire the 20th, telling him that he was now a Canadian. A similar ceremony was observed on July 1st, 1909, when I took possession of the whole Arctic Archipelago between Canada and 90th degree of north latitude. I erected a tablet on a rock Peary, the Explorer, had engraved with his initials, in order to commemorate the acquisition of this northern territory for Canada. The event was celebrated on the 1st of July, Confederation Day. This slide shows us taking possession of those islands, so, as I say, we hold a vaster land than has been. I have always taken the position that the Arctic up to the Pole belongs to Canada. That north land used to be a kind of air-route for aviators but in future we shall collect $50 for a permit from them. Our northern limit, according to me, is 90 degrees north. We take the whole Arctic Archipelago from Baffin Land as far north as 82 degrees. This is not a place of desolation, as my hearers might regard it, but is a territory of great value to the Dominion of Canada.

The reason we ran our line was to secure our fishing rights. So far America has not claimed anything, or said anything. We have been friendly with our neighbors in Greenland; we go there every year to pay our respects, and we tell them that we have given strict orders for any of our people to give help in Greenland if wanted, and that we desire and expect the same treatment from them. Formerly we allowed the Americans to go through the whole of this land and hunt and fish, but now we ask them to pay $50, and we will give them a permit. In the past Canada has been a fairway for American fishermen and hunters, but in 1922 the Arctic on her trip posted police, who protect the Dominion hunting and fishing rights. It might be asked what was the use of making American fishermen pay toll. Well, when the question of ownership came up in the courts it was said that as the Americans had paid dues to Canada for fishing there, the land evidently belonged to Canada.

This slide shows a house that was built in 1923 for the police. Since 1922 we have been supporting police on these islands in order to maintain our rights, and I must congratulate the Government for that action. The time has come when we have to secure this territory for our children, because it is teaming with wealth, like the northern part of Ontario and Quebec. We have already established our claim to a vast area of land rich in large deposits of coal, iron and copper, and with a possibly large revenue from fishing, whaling and trapping. As we get towards Hudson Bay we find there is a great deal of wealth, and every month of the year we hear of ore being found, gold mines and copper mines.

In the place shown in this picture I found English money. It had been deposited in a cache during the voyage of McClintock. This next pictures shows the piano, and me coming down from the bridge as they are playing "God Save the King," while waiting for others to come to the table. This picture shows the Maclaren cheese and the Christie-Brown biscuits. I am giving natives the biscuits. Now comes the Doctor, and he is waiting to draw teeth of the natives, and I am keeping them in good humour.

I did not know that I would be asked to speak about Hudson Bay, but I will say a few words. Going to Hudson Bay would be the natural thing. The best plan would be for the Government to charter a suitable ship and take engineers and other experts for a trip through the Bay, so that they might see for themselves. With the ships sailing at the proper time, in charge of competent engineers, we could get great wealth from that region. Ships can get out of the Bay during three months, July 15th to October 15th, and they could make two or three trips in the Summer, and could use the coal that is to be had up there, which would be a saving. No ship could stand battling with the ice that comes down in the Spring from Baffin Bay, unless the ship is specially prepared for that work.

This slide shows a chart I made of my own accord, the original. If we ran our line due north to 90 degrees parallel we would be able to say to other people, "Keep away from here; you are fishing in Canada; if you want to fish here you must have a license." Many millions have been taken from the northern islands, and when I was there in 1904 and 1905 we put up notices to prevent fishing by those who had no right to do so.

(Films were then shown illustrating the icebergs, Eskimo children, and various scenes in the northland. The instrument was placed at such a distance from the sheet that the views were not clear, and the Chairman announced that something had gone wrong with the machine and that the operator had sent word that he could not improve matters, therefore the films were called off.)

Capt. Bernier then continued his talk. He told how the natives were invited to the ceremony of taking possession of the islands. They were given luncheon on board the *Arctic*, and he told them that they had become Canadians, and were now the same as himself, and were his brothers. He suggested that they make up their requisition for anything they wanted, and he would see what could be done for them. He promised to buy from them what he wanted, and give value for what he bought. When they came to luncheon they thought it was a good thing to be a Canadian. During and after the meal the Captain got the Eskimos one by one, especially the old heads, and gave them pencil and paper and asked them to mark down where they came from and what they had seen. The Eskimos would put down a dot and would say, through the interpreter, "There is an island here, and plenty of salmon; then there is a nice little bay here, then another island." Then after an hour's time the Captain would see the Eskimo sweating, and he would say, "Now, we will have a cup of tea or a smoke," and after that the Eskimo would work at the chart till he finished. Thus the Captain got charts made by all the old heads. The Eskimo trackings are not like ours; they always go on a straight line, but on questioning them through the interpreter the direction according to the sun was found, and also how fast they travelled. The way to ascertain the latter point was to find the number of dogs used. In the Summer, with a kyack, they make five miles per dog; when they go on a hunting trip, if they have 10 dogs they make 10 miles; if 5 dogs, 5 miles. In that way the Captain got knowledge of places which he had not visited.

When the Eskimos got through with their charts the Captain would ask the interpreter to find out whether the natives found any copper or other ore, and asked them to bring it in. Sometimes they brought baskets full, and sometimes they found iron, and they would say, "It is nice; it glitters." Sometimes they would bring in a piece of copper pyrites; sometimes a piece of coal; then they would show on the chart where it was found, and the explorers' men would go and find surface coal, and on trial some of it would burn readily like lignite, and it was used on the boat, and was similar to Sydney coal. The coal was frozen to a depth of 9 or 10 feet, and when it came in big pieces it would crumble when put in the sun. In these ways the explorers got knowledge of every place where they had wandered for 8 years, and thus gathered a great deal of information.

The speaker said that the rivers were teeming with salmon weighing from 10 to 15 pounds, and when this fish is properly prepared it makes delicious eating. He added that he had taken a considerable number of bears and foxes, and there were thousands of seals. During the Winter the seals come out on the islands past Baffin Land and past Labrador, towards Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The value of the seal is about $45. From Newfoundland they have taken 27,000,000 since 1865, and the numbers do not seem to diminish. A seal gains 10 pounds every day when with its mother.

As to whaling, in the old times Americans made lots of money. America has no Northern waters; the waters are all Canadian. The same remark applies to the Alaska side. It is a common thing for a boat to come out with $1,000,000 worth of seals and furs.

Here in Canada we have a rich country, and we should develop every part of it. We want more help, and we will get it when we give the necessary inducements. Look at our mines. Who would have thought

25 years ago that there would be so much wealth on that Transcontinental Railway, which was thought at first to be a white elephant? As you go north it is the same thing; so if the road is opened to Hudson Bay some more territory will be developed, and will bring sufficient revenue to open up that new country. I admit it is very cold up north, but so it is here when you are not properly clothed and fed; but I have been out every day, and have not had a finger frozen.

Gentlemen, I am sorry that I could not have given you more to-day, but I am at your service tomorrow if you need me, or I will answer any questions you like to put in regard to our northern country.

HON. MR. MCCREA, Ontario Minister of Mines, voiced the thanks of the Club to Capt. Bernier for his interesting address.

CANADA AT THE CROSS ROADS

AN ADDRESS BY CHARLES W. PETERSEN, OF CALGARY

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, October 14, 1926.

COL. ALEXANDER FRASER, Vice-President, introduced the Speaker.

MR. PETERSEN

I am pleased to have the opportunity of addressing the Empire Club—the exponent of the wider patriotism, which, while including the love of Canada, enters the broader field of love for and pride in the whole of the British Empire. My message to you may not at once strike the responding chord in your minds—all I can hope for is that on mature reflection you may be able to see things my way.

Nationalism touches all manner of current popular prejudices—personal, national, religious and racial. It is the most significant factor in public life, and a dangerous subject to touch critically because of the deep and powerful emotions with which it is charged. The intense nationalism of modern days is partly an outgrowth of economic forces. It received its great impetus during the industrial revolution of the last century, which brought before nations the ideal of being self-contained. It may, however, easily be conceded that he who entertains the not ignoble ambition to promote his country's material welfare may justly claim for himself a place amongst the patriots, perhaps amongst the lesser patriots. At any rate, I claim this place, and will make my appeal on the basis of practical expediency rather than patriotic sentiment. I am going to say a word for the foreigner, and as we have in Canada a dual nationality we may be expected to harbour the more tolerant view on racial problems. This is the hope upon which I rest my case.

I am neither a pessimist nor a blue-ruin prophet. I cheerfully concede that Canada's material progress during the past quarter century has been tremendous. Our agricultural capital has been increased from 1¾ billions to 7½ billions; our agricultural production from ⅓ billion to 1½ billions. Our capital in manufacturing has increased from ½ billion to 3⅓ billions; our population by 3 millions; our developed water power from 125,000 H.P. to 4½ millions H.P.; our per capita exports from $36.58 to $115; and so on all along the line. It is not easy to properly estimate the precise significance of these impressive figures. While Canada at the moment is enjoying reasonable prosperity, principally due to a fairly bountiful western harvest, the past quarter-century of amazing progress evidently has not made us all "healthy, wealthy and wise."

Our agriculture has passed through the fire test of poor crops and high operating costs during recent years, and is labouriously struggling back to normal. Industries still complain of lack of orders. The Maritime Provinces complain. Property values have not fully recovered. During this period we have frequently had our acute unemployemnt problem. Comparisons with the desperate straits of European countries, favourable to us, yield no comfort whatever. Inexorable fate has decreed that the danger of economic stagnation faces us unless we measure up to the standard of prosperity prevailing south of the line. This will always be our most serious handicap. In reality, these figures showing imposing increases in national wealth and production, mean little or nothing when applied to the individual lives and welfare of the average man. Invested wealth always increases at a much greater rate than population. Its most spectacular increase is frequently due to artificial fluctuations in property values of all sorts. It constitutes no sure index to national properity.

There is, in fact, no reliable barometer of a nation's material progress known to modern economists. The best evidence of this is that the Coste prize offered in France in 1903 for a compilation of the national wealth of that country has so far not been awarded. The nearest we can come to estimating the economic status of the Canadian is to recognize the fact that the prosperity of a nation depends upon the ability of the inhabitants to procure the means to satisfy the reasonable necessities of life. Census statistics help us very little to arrive at the true answer. The trend of unemployment and emigration are, in our case, the only reliable surface indications available.

The position of Canada amongst nations is unique. We have a great prosperous country adjoining us with an invisible boundary line of 3000 miles speaking the same language and with a civilization and institutions similar to our own. Consequently, unemployment in Canada is generally reflected in south bound emigration. Furthermore, in order to retain our population we, on this side of the line, must obviously offer our people the same inducements and standard of living as prevail in the United States. We come then to the conclusion that our national welfare depends on our ability to measure up to the same high standard set by our neighbors, which is the highest history records. No young nation ever faced a more difficult task.

It might be well to endeavor to analyze our population situation and to ascertain what this drift across the line really means in terms of population leakage. We started our national career in 1870 with a population of 3,372,000. The rate of net natural increase in Canada is figured by statisticians at approximately 2¼ per cent per annum. Between 1881 and 1920 we had received through immigration an addition to our population of 4,640,000 people. There is no record available of those that entered Canada prior to 1881, but the number must have been considerable. Taking the immigration and net natural increase by ten year periods, we arrive at a figure of roundly 16 millions, which should have been the population of Canada in 1921, providing we had retained the people that came to our shores plus a normal national increase. But the census of that year showed a population of only 8,800,000 leaving an apparent deficit of 7,000,000 people on our national ledger.

This appalling condition is not a thing of the past. At the present moment there is a waiting list in the United States Consulate for Alberta alone of over 2,200 British-born residents of the province. This does not include people of Canadian birth who may enter freely and without formal permission, and the latest Washington figures throw an interesting light on that movement. During the ten months' period, July 1925 to May 1926, the total admissions from all countries into the United States under the "Quota Law" was 147,586. The movement from Canada alone was 83,903. During the month of May, Canadian admissions were 8,327, showing no dimunition whatever in this outward flow which is apparently now on a basis of 100,000 per annum of native Canadians. Aside from British and foreign residents of Canada admitted under the Quota Law are the large number that enter illegally of whom no record is available. These figures speak for themselves.

We might as well look facts straight in the face. During the two last census periods, between 1901 to 1921, Canada made a total gain in population of 3,417,000. During the same period we received 3,340,000 immigrants. Freely translated this means that a volume of population approximately equal to our natural increase left the country. Canada must apparently look almost solely to her immigration to augment her population. This is a most disturbing revelation, and calculated to make intelligent people pause and consider. Incidentally, we find that instead of being confronted with one difficult problem, we have as a matter of fact, two; (1) to get the people and (2) to hold the people we get. We may presumably concede that, in order to reach a certain accretion of population within any given period, we must perforce pump in sufficient additional population to overcome the double handicaps of a falling birth rate and this very considerable leak. Or, we may possibly conclude that the population we have brought to Canada in past years has contained too great a percentage of people who scorned the laborious task of developing our agricultural lands and preferred the easier life of the town with the ready opportunity of drifting south when the fancy struck them. All of which makes it the more essential that we should now begin to focus serious thought and energy upon this very perplexing dual problem.

My diagnosis of our lamentable inability to hold our population is, that we have failed to settle our lands with people who would strike roots deeply into our fertile soil. My remedy for our economic ills is to bring a very large proportion of that class of people to Canada, if necessary with the aid of public funds and thus inaugurate a real colonization policy. If we fail to adopt such an heroic policy, we may anticipate economic stagnation for years to come. We are at this moment at the Cross Roads. What Canada, and many other countries, has suffered from during recent years and what has given rise to general unemployment, is not necessarily over-population, but unbalanced production.

While Canada's urban and rural populations have been unequally distributed, our aggregate working force has been, and still is, vastly below our minimum, urgent, national requirements. With untold mineral and forest wealth and millions of acres of the world's richest agricultural lands lying idle and undeveloped, and the world clamouring for food, it is paradoxical to harbour an unemployment problem.

Widespread unemployment under such conditions is prima facie evidence of arrested development and this must largely be due to bankrupt statesmanship in so far as sufficient intelligence and energy has not been focussed on the solution of problems which obviously lend themselves to correction by well-known and proven methods.

Canada's agriculture looms up as the largest single factor in her economic life, with the farmers as the largest group of domestic consumers, consequently exercising a commanding influence upon the general business conditions of the country.

Forty-one per cent of our net production in the last census year was agricultural; thirty-three per cent manufacturing. Our forests, mines, fisheries, construction, etc., account for the remaining twenty-six per cent.

Our 8 billions of agricultural capital represents 36 per cent of Canada's total available wealth. Urban real estate accounts for 26 per cent, our railway plants 10 per cent; forests 5½ per cent; mines 2½ per cent., and manufacturing equipment 2¾ per cent.

Besides the millions of farm workers directly engaged in producing, there are other millions earning their living by performing work connected with supplying the implements, tools, shoes, clothing, etc., for the farmer, with the manufacture of raw material originating on the farm and the distribution and transportation of such commodities.

Who is bold enough to attempt correctly to estimate the economic importance of agriculture in a country like Canada? It is perhaps well within the mark to assert that at least 80 per cent of Canada's total population, in every walk of life, depends absolutely on the farm, directly or indirectly.

These are imposing figures and should lead thinking men to speculate on the possible performance of Canadian agriculture in terms of national development, were we in the happy position where more than a mere fringe of our agricultural area was on a producing basis.

If, for instance, we were producing on one-half, or even on one third, of our arable lands instead of only one-sixth, granting a fair occupational balance, our present economic problems would vanish over night.

The time is ripe for bringing such a situation about. We have the undeveloped natural resources, the markets are there, we only need the man-power and the capital to complete the circle. And that is purely a matter of intelligent business organization.

We must not overlook the fact that Canada's proud record rests on past performance, rendered possible by the easy exploitation of our most available natural resources, at a time when new population was coming our way, with but slight exertion on our part, and when the burden of taxation rested lightly on all classes.

We face, however, an entirely different situation to-day. The free homestead and high quality land in close proximity to transportation at from $3 to $5 an acre are both things of the past.

With increased land, machinery, commodity and transportation costs and curtailed credit, agricultural settlement has ceased to be a matter of mere "willing hands and stout hearts" and has graduated into the class of capitalistic enterprise.

And to add to our difficulties, latter-day immigrants possess less capital than they did in former years. The United States is about the only country from which farmers with even modest capital can be drawn. And they are not coming our way in large numbers at present.

Canada still offers the settler with capital a splendid opportunity. Excellent farms at prices vastly below those prevailing in older civilizations, are readily available. We have large areas of first-class unoccupied lands around most of our old-settled communities.

Such lands are generally well served with transportation, educational and other facilities. Their settlement would materially ease the burden of those already in occupation in various ways and could give rise to no new public liability for the extension of services.

The ownership of such lands has generally passed from the crown and is in the hands of all sorts of companies, individuals and municipalities. The area is estimated at over 18 million acres. These lands are available at very reasonable prices and on favourable terms.

We have also an enormous area of occupied and partly developed lands in the hands of domiciled farmers who would welcome an opportunity to reduce their holdings and get a part of their properties into the hands of newcomers. The incidences of local taxation and labour problems have created a tendency towards the smaller farm operated on a more intensive basis.

We need not, therefore, anticipate the slightest difficulty in meeting the requirements of new settlers from the United Kingdom, the United States and Northern Europe who could not be interested in settling upon lands remote from transportation, educational or social facilities, or upon a class of land requiring pioneering effort of the more strenuous sort.

I shall now turn my attention to what I consider the "high spot" in Canada's colonization problem namely the settlement of our marginal lands.

140 million acres is occupied in Canada. 20% of this is waste land. This leaves us with 112 million acres of occupied arable land. The total arable area for Canada is 358 million, indicating that we still have on hand 246 million acres of arable lands or approximately three-fifths of the total.

If we credit the people who selected the occupied one-third of our arable area with ordinary common sense, we must conclude that it contains the cream of our vast area of vacant lands.

No agricultural country on earth would, in its virgin state, contain so large a proportion of high quality land as one-third of its arable area.

We must, therefore, admit, and anyone conversant with the facts will readily support such a conclusion, that our present unalienated, arable area falls distinctly within the category of medium to inferior lands.

To obtain a true picture of our real colonization problem, we must realize that the bulk of these lands come within the term "marginal."

They are located in areas where the rainfall normally is insufficient to produce satisfactory agricultural results, or they are heavily treed, are low lying, stony or have thin soil or exhibit other undesirable features.

Most of these lands present a problem in human labour and are marginal only until reclaimed by hard pioneering effort when they will graduate into the class of more or less productive lands. But their reclamation involves clearing, digging out of stones, drainage or similar uninviting and time-consuming labour, unproductive for the time being.

A depressing number of Canadians, Britishers and Americans have failed, at great economic loss and to the everlasting detriment of Canada, in establishing themselves permanently upon farms of that class in Western Canada.

"Flivvers," rural phones and mail delivery can play no conspicuous part in such a toilsome undertaking. It calls rather for the Spartanic life of the early backwoods settler of Old Canada, with something approaching the crude standard of living then in vogue.

Who is going to "mop up" this Herculean task for us? The greater part of this strenuous enterprise cannot be successfully accomplished by people accustomed to the high standard of living of most of the countries we are pleased to designate "preferred" in our present immigration policy.

Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia harbour this problem in an intensified form. Previous failures in colonizing these provinces have their roots in the fact that no special notice has been taken of the special character of the lands to be settled. The bush lands and enormous dry areas of the west come within this class.

We have insisted on focussing our propaganda on Great Britain and Northern Europe when a moment's thought should have convinced us of the futility of such an effort.

We cannot formulate intelligent immigration policies in Canada without reference to this situation. The obvious answer is a considerable influx of Central and East European peasants. No other class will successfully create permanent homes on land of that description.

Sir Clifford Sifton addressing the Canadian Club in Toronto some years ago stated that what Canada needs is; "The fellow in the sheep-skin coat with the big-broad wife." He epitomized the whole problem in those few words.

I say without hesitation, basing my finding on observation in his native village in Europe and upon his creditable record over many years on our Western plains, that he is, from almost every point of view, an eminently desirable element in our population.

He possesses in a high degree the peculiar virtues and qualifications essential to successful pioneering, the most important of which are frugality, perseverance and unremitting industry.

There is not the least danger of any demoralizing influence to our native population from contact with him. On the contrary he possesses virtues which might profitably be imitated by other members of the community.

Let me repeat that the key in colonization in every province in Canada is the development of our enormous residue of inferior lands. Any so-called immigration policy which does not welcome with open arms this specialist in our most difficult national development problem, is simply futile.

Any such policy which actually places obstacles in the way of this useful class entering Canada, which is the present situation, is not far from being hopelessly insane.

It can only be attributed to gross ignorance and a complete misconception of the character of Canada's most urgent and pressing colonization requirement.

Anticipate the inevitable objection to my proposal, which will be framed somewhat as follows; "Shall we deliberately turn Canada into a new Hungary or Poland?" My answer is that we should redouble our efforts to bring over the greatest, possible number of people from the United Kingdom. The more, however, we increase rural settlement by peasants and others, the more easily we can absorb urban population, and our census returns show unmistakably that British Immigration preponderatingly settles in urban communities.

We should also speed up our machinery for interesting settlers from northern and other "preferred" European countries. We cannot have too many of them.

I emphasize the special need of peasant immigration on three grounds; first, to ensure the permanent development of our marginal lands, which I regard as our greatest present problem.

Secondly, in the interest of greater general agricultural development.

Thirdly, to augment Canada's consuming and producing population, realizing that Great Britain and "preferred" European countries cannot furnish a volume of immigration approximating adequate requirements.

As to the extent of a peasant movement that matter must be determined by the people of Canada with all before them. My own considered judgment is that it could scarcely be too great.

I might furthermore draw attention to the fact that the social and political effect of a great movement of people into a new country with standards and language differing from the domiciled population is not very serious where such people are settled in rural areas.

Lack of urban contact will doubtless retard the process of assimilation but on the other hand the country-side exercises a vastly smaller influence on national life than the urban communities.

Peasant settlements are during the earlier stages unobtrusive to a high degree. These people do not seek to exercise any directing influence in national affairs. And it is well that they should not until ready to contribute intelligently. Canada can absorb a very great per centage of this class of agricultural people without the least danger to our social and political life.

I want to say a word in defence of Canada's foreign population. There has been a great deal of ill-formed criticism naturally intensified by war emotionalism. You people know the foreigner chiefly by his well-advertised crime record in your industrial slums chiefly by people of Latin and oriental origin.

You have not seen the prosperous peasant colonies in the West, the well-tilled smiling fields and the perseverance and industry of these excellent settlers. They are true children of the soil.

The low standard of living of the European peasant class is often criticized. But are we not in imminent danger of completely misunderstanding this very elastic phrase?

I see a vastly greater menace to society in the almost universal weakness for too high a standard of living than lurks in any class living well within its means which is merely another way of describing a low standard of living.

To have a hard working frugal family characterized as a social hazard because it declines to spend more than it earns seems an entirely new point of view.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to instill precisely these virtues in the minds of our children. We have even held them up as absolutely essential to worldly success. Are we not a trifle inconsistent not to say ridiculous in this modern attitude?

The superstition prevails that the foreigner presents an uncomfortable problem owing to his supposed criminal proclivities. Taking the census of 1921 and our penitentiary population for the same year we find that our British and French population of 7,322,000 furnished 2,157 prisoners or 3.40 per 1,000 while our foreign population of 1,467,000 supplied 483 inmates or only 3.03 per 1,000.

This hardly bears out such a sweeping contention. But the simple, hard working and law abiding east European peasant should not be classed indiscriminately with the large south European population of our industrial slums district where most of the serious crimes occur.

At home he seldom comes in conflict with the authorities and no particular reason exists why he should change his habits on coming to Canada.

The objection of illiteracy is often urged against the foreign immigrant. Educational statistics, compiled from our latest census returns, apparently tell a very different tale. Here are some figures bearing on the percentage of illiteracy in Canada:

Ages	Parents Canadian born	Parents foreign born
10 to 20 years	2.71⅞	3.45⅞
21 and over	7.28⅞	4.45⅞
total average	5.77⅞	3.79⅞

The general percentage of illiteracy amongst the population of Nova Scotia over school age is 5.11, New Brunswick 7.61 and Quebec 6.20. These provinces have a little over 3 per cent of foreign population. Saskatchewan, with 25 per cent of foreign population, has only 5.92 per cent of illiteracy. How, in the face of these figures, can any such objection against the foreign immigrant be sustained?

From a standpoint of morality also it cannot be shown that the foreigner in our midst presents a special problem. Illegitimacy in Canada is very low compared with other countries and the domiciled foreigner apparently conforms to the same high standard.

Saskatchewan has the largest foreign born female population of any province in Canada. For the last three year period available, Saskatchewan's percentage of illegitimate to total birth was 1.2; Alberta, with the largest percentage of foreign females to total population 1.9 per cent. The percentage in Nova Scotia was 3.5 Ontario 2.2, Prince Edward Island, with scarcely any foreign population, 2.3 per cent., while Canada as a whole shows a shade below 2 per cent of illegitimacy.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from these figures, namely, that our foreign born population as a whole has an excellent moral standing, even far above the comparatively splendid record of our British born population, which is not so greatly to be wondered at in view of the strong, religious character of most of our foreign settlements.

Regarding the general question of immigration expenditure, if we accept Prof. Irving Fisher's estimte of average value to the state at $3,000 for each productive citizen, we may logically conclude that it would apparently be sound business to expend up to the amount upon the maintenance, education and training of the native-born child until it reaches the productive age. Or, in order to compensate for a falling birth rate, or to speed up settlement, upon propaganda and other efforts to transplant in Canada any acceptable person of productive age from another country.

Record shows that since 1870 we have brought somewhat over 4½ million people to Canada at a direct cost to the government of 37 million dollars.

Estimating the expenditure of the railways, province and other active agencies at an additional 45 million dollars, the aggregate cost would be 82 million dollars, or an average cost per head of less than $20.

Has Canada ever spent money more advantageously? Is it conceivable that any national investment could possibly yield greater returns?

But we have yet to consider what is perhaps the most ominous and disturbing cloud on the horizon of immigration activities. It is a universal condition which, however, may well be viewed with considerable apprehension.

History and statistics show that it took the world the better part of half a million years to reach a population of 750 millions up to the year 1800. Food had normally been scarce and this near-starvation condition had acted as a powerful brake on natural increase according to well known economic laws.

Came the golden age of invention, followed by rapid and cheap transportation on sea and land, which in turn led to the opening up, in temperate zones overseas, of vast continents of virgin lands, constituting huge reservoirs. This coupled, with the increased mechanization of agriculture, relieved the pressure by providing cheap and abundant food, which automatically begot the most spectacular increase in world population that history records and probably ever will record.

Within one brief century, during the latter part of which the world wallowed in food at bargain prices, population actually doubled reaching 1,500 millions in the year 1900.

With European population at the very peak, Canada naturally garnered her human harvest comparatively easily.

Our opportunity to obtain additional population is, however, drawing to a close rapidly because a new era is now dawning inasmuch as there are no more extensive, empty spaces within temperate zones.

The day of cheap food is definitely past, and presently the earth will only be made to yield more abundantly through the expensive and labourious process of intensive cultivation.

Prof. East of Harvard, after painstaking investigation, tells us that if the same fantastic birthrate should by any chance continue, the world would be on the verge of actual starvation by 1960.

But economic laws are at work and we need entertain no apprehension. Vital statistics demonstrate clearly that the general birth rate is falling rapidly everywhere. Great Britain now has the lowest birth rate of any nation even lower than that of France.

Economists freely predict a stationary, or possibly receding, future world population. Beyond all shadow of doubt, in 15 or 20 years Canada will look overseas in vain for surplus man-power to develop her resources.

So we are essentially working against time in our present leisurely colonization effort. With the passing of each year the problem will be irrevocably intensified.

For a few years yet European countries may remain partly over-populated with adults, and our chances to secure more people are dwindling steadily day by day.

It requires no prophetic foresight to conclude that the time limit within which Canada may solve her population problem in terms of millions of new citizens is coming to an end.

Dr. Goggin voiced the thanks of the Club to the Speaker.

WORLD UNREST—A SUGGESTED CURE

AN ADDRESS BY HOWARD S. ROSS, K.C., D.C.L., OF MONTREAL.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, October 21, 1926.

COL. ALEXANDER FRASER, VICE-PRESIDENT, introduced the Speaker.

MR. ROSS

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I suppose that most of us will agree that world-wide social and political reforms can be brought about, not by noise and shouting not by complaints and denunciation, not by the formation of parties nor the making of revolutions, but rather by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. When we think right thoughts, right actions follow, and not until then. One of the encouraging features of to-day is that more people are realizing the importance of sound thinking. More wonderful than all the inventions of the day is the way people are thinking about our relations to the natural resources of the world, and of our relations to one another. Of course we are so keen upon action that we act without thinking, without taking the long view, the careful view; and that is why we spend most of our time pulling ourselves out of the ditch.

No doubt you have seen the little poem by Pagadorn entitled, "The Unknown Soldier," part of which is as follows:—

> Because we would not think we had to die;
> We died, and there you stand, no step advanced.
> Dead eyes keep watch; you shall not rest or sleep.
> We died, but now you others who must live
> Must do the braver thing than dying is,
> For you must think, and ghosts will drive you on.

It does seem to me that we need a good many ghosts to drive us on to do some worth-while thinking; to get under the surface of things. Do you not agree with me that unless we end war, strikes, wasteful and costly litigation, and all the conflict that there is about us—which are unavoidable under our present system—that these things will end us? Do you not think it is time that we gave up our weakness for palliatives, our tendency to fuss with effects—a course which in the long run is more expensive than going courageously to the root of those problems.

Do you not think we are all prone to rely too much upon force? Are we not a little too much like Mussolini, who says that force and right rule the world; force, until right is ready. I wonder when right is going to be ready, so that we may give up our great reliance on force?

It seems to me that what we most need now is an economic system under which, on terms of equal freedom and equal opportunity, every one everywhere may apply their knowledge to the natural resources in a reasonable way, so that we may all have material things, so that people everywhere should develop their physical, intellectual and spiritual powers to the full? That should be an easy thing, not a hazardous adventure.

We have now conquered production; indeed, we are afraid of over-production. Our next problem is that of distribution. What we need now is to find an economic plan for the equitable distribution of our work or service. I am almost afraid to use that word "work," because it is apt to make so many people nervous. If you are talking to a lot of lawyers and you suddenly say "work," a sort of tremble goes through the building. Perhaps we should use the word "service," for there are now a lot of service clubs, and that word is quite popular; yet I prefer to stick to the good old Anglo-Saxon word "work." If we could do our work equitably, the distribution would be equitable, and we could destroy all our present fallacies.

We lawyers are a great institution. If we did not take people over to the Court House and give them a run for their money, and send them a good bill of costs, they would be out on the streets fighting each other with knives. So lawyers are everywhere; there are 800 in Montreal. Imagine a big husky fellow like myself coming from Cape Breton where I could do any kind of thing, where I should be digging coal, or fishing, or something like that; but I am up in an office building, nine floors up, with those books that we keep to impress our clients—those books that are bound in calf with the "tale" inside. We fall in love with our clients, who think we know everything in the books. We always impress our clients like that.

Imagine a social order that is so bad that you have to set aside thousands and hundreds of thousands of men to try to keep track of those laws, that are only good for about six months, when another law is passed. There have been 33,000,000 laws passed now, yet we want some more. Of course that serves our immediate interests, and we lawyers say the more the merrier. A man who has goods to sell wants his goods scarce, under the present system, so that they will be dear; but we lawyers want the criminal laws all the more twisted up, to serve our immediate interests. Of course when people get fairly well-off they talk about uniform legislation, and things like that; but how can full-grown people be so simple as to think that lawyers, who live on trouble and conflict, and who are as necessary as any part of the community under the present system, are staying awake at nights worrying about making the law simple? It is the people who are simple. There are as many lawyers as doctors doing things for nothing, and helping in charitable work; but when are we going to give over that dependency upon legislation?

Would it not be very much better if we depended upon acts of production rather than on acts of parliament? As a rule, acts of parliament are a substitute for work. Another fallacy is that there is not enough in this world for everybody. That idea is utterly ridiculous. Statisticians say that if you put all the people in the world —1,600,000,000—in a piece of territory 20 miles by 30, each of them would have a little over ten square feet. How many pieces of territory could you carve out of this wonderful empire within our own wonderful Canada, with its 3,750,000 square miles? What utter rubbish, to talk about there not being enough in the world to go round! We trample under our feet every day enough to feed billions, by this wasteful conflict, which cannot be avoided. Nobody is to blame; we are all in this mess together; the economic system is wrong, and we do not seem to have enough sense to know that blaming others will not get us anywhere, though it is a very popular thing to blame public men. What utter rubbish! Public men are doing all they can for Canada; they are as much interested in Canada as you are, and I am; they have their children; they want to make this a good country, but they cannot do so under the present system. I wonder that they do so well. You know the result of government—putting on another mortgage. We call it "refunding the public debt." You know it is a terrible thing for a private person to go into debt, but it is quite an easy thing for a government to do so. Now, that should not be.

At certain times we begin to look around and see that it is not the people at all that are to blame. You know the things that people who are out of power say about those who are in power. Of course if half of the things they said were true it would mean that those people were guilty of treason every day. I do not believe a quarter of what I hear, because I know that our public men have a terrible time of it. I have been in the midst of practical politics when I was very young and I know all about that. It is easier for us who are outside to look into the matter of constructive plans. Our public men are so harrassed that they have not time to look into such matters, and we do not expect very much of that from public men. At election time they have no opportunity to do fundamental thinking; they have to make a mass appeal on a large number of questions, and we are supposed, when we vote, to say Yes or No to those questions. We who are outside should get away from our complaining, and say, "We will do what we can in the direction of educational work along constructive lines."

Now, I am going to talk to you about the plan. It is called the Equitous Plan. It was thought out by a man who lives in the United States, not a very well-known man, but one who, with his daughter, is giving a lot of disinterested service in trying to get to the bottom of this economic question. He sometimes says, "I would like to discover the missing link in economics." You know how elusive it all seems to be when we think we have put our finger on it, and then it seems to fly away. If there is a solution of the problem it seems like the little verse I read in a poem called "Relativity." The first part you know very well. It goes thus:—

Twinkle, twinkle, little star, How I wonder what you are;
High up in the sky you shine, But according to Einstein
You are just around the bend, You are not where you pretend,
And your sweet seductive rays Have been leading men astray
All these years; Oh, little star, Don't you know how bad you are?

This plan is based upon the money question. It seems difficult to think in the abstract; to think of the natural resources. We seem a bit slow in observing and understanding the obvious. Just think of how many people could be put down in the vacant land between Montreal and Toronto. Think, even, of the amount of vacant land between Montreal and Smith's Falls. Then think of Montreal, all crowded for three or four flights; no place for children to play without being killed; smoke hanging like a pall over the city, getting into the lungs and shutting off 25% of the sunlight. Is it not strange that people do not think more about the land question? There is plenty of it. Of course the trouble is fear. The big fears to-day are the fear of want and the fear of work—that is, human primary production, punching the clock, and all that sort of thing. I early saw that there was not very much in that sort of thing, and that is why I sailed into the law business and got up nine floors, away from any toil, that is, toil largely with my hands, or anything of that kind.

I suggest to you that we should all think more on this land question. The other day I saw a poem that helped me to understand it better than I did before, although

I have dwelt on this question for a number of years. Of course we lawyers get a pretty clear first-hand view of deeds and titles and that kind of thing, in the searching of records to see that there is no cloud on the title, and telling the client that everything is quite all right. I once had a client who asked me, "How do these people get that, from the Creator? Isn't there a little cloud on the title just there?" Well, now, of course, he was just fussy. We have these title deeds, but there is a cloud, no doubt. If we cannot just start and clear that, the business will not pay.

Of course the whole thing is wrong. God intended that the land should be for all his creatures, and it is a ridiculous proposal, though I have done my full share of land-grabbing—I do not want to pose as a purist, or anything of that kind. After all, all that is wrong—that I should get natural resources, and then say to my fellows, "You can go and apply your labor to that, but you must pay me a profit." That thing is utterly rediculous, and we can never have peace, we can never have plenty, under that system.

This poem was written by a man who was born in this Province. When he was about eight years old his family went to Cleveland, and now he writes wonderful verses. His name is Edward Vance Cooke. He is a very brilliant, kindly man. This poem he calls—

UNCIVILIZED

An ancient ape, once on a time,
Disliked exceedingly to climb
And so he picked him out a tree
And said, "Now this belongs to me,
I have a hunch that monks are mutts
And I can make them gather nuts
And bring the bulk of them to me
By claiming title to this tree."

He took a green leaf and a reed
And wrote himself a title-deed,
Proclaiming pompously and slow;—
"All monkeys by these presents know."
Next morning, when the monkeys came

To gather nuts, he made his claim;—
"All monkeys climbing on this tree
Must bring their gathered nuts to me,
Cracking the same on equal shares;
The meats are mine; the shells are theirs."

"But by what right?" they cried, amazed,
Thinking the ape was surely crazed.
"By this," he answered. "If you'll read,
You'll find it is a title-deed,
Made in precise and formal shape
And sworn before a fellow-ape,
Exactly on the legal plan
Used by that wondrous creature, man,
In London, Tokyo, New York,
Glengary, Kalamazoo, and Cork.
Unless my deed is recognized,
It proves you quite uncivilized."

"But," said one monkey, "you'll agree
It was not you who made this tree!"
"Nor," said the ape, serene and bland,
"Does any owner make his land,
Yet all of its hereditaments
Are his and figure in his rents."

The puzzled monkeys sat about;
They could not make the question out.
Plainly, by precedent and law,
The ape's procedure showed no flaw,
And yet, no matter what he said,
The stomach still denied the head.

Up spoke one sprightly monkey then,
"Monkeys are monkeys; men are men.
The ape should try his legal capers
On men who may respect his papers.
We don't know deeds; we do know nuts
And spit of "ifs" and "ands" and "buts,"
We know who gathers and un-meats 'em,
By monkey practice also eats 'em!
So tell the ape and all his flunkeys,
"No man-tricks can be played on monkeys."

Thus, apes still climb to get their food,
Since monkey minds are crass and crude,
And monkeys, all so ill-advised,
Still eat their nuts, uncivilized.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE

You can see a little strain of philosophy running through that. In talking to some Harvard students I observed that this poem did not register on them very quickly. I observe that it registers well here. I told those students that if it did not register quickly with them they should go around to the Medical School and see a physician, and have him touch them—I forgot at the moment whether it was the cerebrum or cerebellum—but I said, "Get both cerebrum and cerebellum touched;" and if anybody should come here and read that poem, and then pick up an ordinary book called Current Economics as taught to-day, if you cannot see through that thing you should really consult somebody."

So the suggestion of this Equitous Plan is that we should have pure money. To-day we have gold. Well, that has done a lot of good work. The National Bank Bulletin of New York says that gold stands on a good basis, and it is better than any other medium in many ways, but that it is quite conceivable that we may find some other plan that would work just as well. So some of us say that the real basis of exchange should be one hour of adult human work. You see the way that would work—any work as we have it to-day, pleasant, useful service. Conflict would stop when we would give work for work. All I can do for you is to work for you, and that is all you can do for me. I ask you this: If I get work from you and do not give you work in return, what do I give you? Of course I give you some kind of tribute. Where do I get that? Generally from the Government; some kind of special privilege legislation, the sort of thing we are all chasing after—and I have done my full share of log-rolling.

So we say one hour of toil, human work, with the Mutual Bank, with cheques. If I get something from you I issue my own money. Now, do not be afraid of that, even the first time you hear it, because the thing is so simple. You say, "This sounds visionary;" but you can see that it sounds just because the really practicable thing is the sound thing, the true thing, and the just thing, while the impracticable thing is what we have before us in the system of to-day. None of us are happy. The world is in a terrible foment. So we say that if we had one hour of adult human labor our own interest and profit would be complete. But we also say that the rich man of to-day would be richer; that is, in 1926, the middle of real work, if there were rich people, they would be richer. There is no need to sacrifice; there is plenty for everybody.

But can we have a peaceful, happy world while some people are at a disadvantage? They would pull down the finest civilization that was ever built. Do we not like to be around with well-off people who live in a nice street and have nice things? Of course we do. Well, what is the best way to cure a person of these extreme and bitter views? Make him comfortable. People on the outside growl and say bitter things, but when they get on the inside, and the salary starts, perhaps from the Government, they are pleasant, and they say that the other people on the outside are just trouble-makers, while those on the outside are as cross and mad as wet hens.

Now, let us make this reform by agreement. The ordinary way is to impose reforms either with bullets or ballots, and there is not much difference, because ballots for a bad law may be just as insidious and evil as a bad war, though there is no war that is any good; we are discovering that now. Nobody in particular is responsible. Public men that do not want war; most of them send their sons. Of course military men do not want war; nobody does; but are we going to have brains enough to stand off and take a good look at ourselves and ask what we are fighting about? I make bold to say that the cause is commodity-money, not result-unit money. When we have money as a basis we at once fix the price of goods upon it, and then we want it scarce so that it will be sure. So here is a money-plan that encourages individual initiative, the holding of private property, co-operation, and self-government, but at the same time has no special privilege, but a fair field and no favour. You do the thing you are best fitted for, and so do I; hence we both enjoy the benefits of the division of labor, and there is no disparity in our hours of work. Of course people used to ask, "Would you exchange your hour with that of a street sweeper?" But now the street sweeper lives in the house next to the college professor, and drives a nice machine.

It would be worth while to get a change in the social order. We always would be far happier than we are, now we have to listen to quarrels and disputes between husband and wife, brother and brother, and members of families, all over property. One of my clients who engaged me to collect a claim for him, wanting to put some iron in my soul, told me, "Get after this man; don't treat him as if he was a Christian!" I doubt if there is a lawyer who does not go home pretty well tired, especially if he is dealing with criminal law. But we do not need all that; the conflict would be gone if we could adopt by agreement such a plan as this. I do not think it would take a terrible lot of educational work to show people that such a plan would pay. Of course there is no use talking about it if it will not pay.

People may think they are going to have a hard time making a living out of this plan, and that it will involve a lot of disagreeable work. That is not the idea at all. Experts estimate that the present waste amounts to billions upon billions. In 1924 the Allies spent $2,500,000,000 in preparedness for war. We now have 6,000,000 active soldiers, with 24,000,000 in reserve. We spent about a billion and a half on advertising. It is hard to find the billions that are lost in strikes that were quite avoidable. What do we spend in litigation all over the world? What do we spend in Government, that does not do much for us—another commission, another set of people to try to do something with this new law. In the United States the figures for government and avoidable waste are startling; they run up to $10,000,000,000. What would that enormous sum do in the way of food, clothing and shelter? Take the waste in bookkeeping,—banking is bookkeeping; under this plan two-thirds of the bookkeeping could be done away with. What does that mean in the feeding and clothing and housing of the people of the world?

On the other hand, we have only begun to get all that we can out of the soil. In the last fifty years the fertility is said to have increased eight times. What would it mean if we were able to make fertile all the acres that are fit for working, for the benefit of those people who have never had a chance?

With this new pure dollar, free from tribute, the process of exchange would just be a checking-account against the Mutual Bank. The bulletin of the National City Bank had an article which said, "The whole object is to exchange services; and if all the cheques and tickets were brought together they would cancel each other." Everybody is working for everybody else. We are all consumers, and the consumer pays the full cost of making and delivering the article; and by eliminating all the billions of waste it is calculated that one dollar would be equal to $50 under the present system to-day. Then think of the rent, interest and profit account—the most wasteful of all. It takes some time for ideas like this to sink into most minds, because they are not thinking in terms of humanity, not thinking of having things for use rather than profit.

I have a genial friend who is incubating a great scheme. He has had an eye on natural resources, but finds most of them taken up. However, he says that the air is still left, so he proposes to bottle it up, and prevent people from breathing except those who pay him tribute. At Christmas time, however, being a good Christian and churchman, he proposes to select a list of friends, and send them bottles of air!

An encouraging sign of the times, which shows that human nature is as sweet as a nut, is the number of people who are giving away large sums of money in these days for education and churches and hospitals without expecting any return. An eminent doctor friend of mine, who is a specialist in nervous diseases, told me that if this plan could be put in operation he would guarantee that two-thirds of the sickness would disappear and that patients would leave the lunatic asylums in large numbers, because the plan would relieve them from worry that causes sickness and insanity.

We call our countries Christian, and we would like them to be Christian, but we cannot make them so when we have a pagan system that, like Topsy, just grew. Our difficulty is not because of human nature or animal ancestors; it is that up to this moment we have not understood how to devise an equitable economic system, and really do what is fair with each other. We have memorized the Golden Rule; and now do you not think we should begin to live the Golden Rule? So I hope you will not think this too violent a strain, and I trust you may begin to think about the problem in these terms. We must find the cause of war and do away with it, and some of us think that the cause lies in that land question and the money question.

I would like to recall another poem in order, if possible, to get people's minds turned against war, and with the hope that we may find a plan so that they will not have to go through that agony again. It is a poem written by Richard le Galliene, called—

THE ILLUSION OF WAR.

War I abhor, and yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street
Of fife and drum, and I forget
Wet eyes of widows, and forget
Broken old mothers and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul;
Without a soul, save this bright drink
Of heavy music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace-abiding feet
Go marching with the marching street,
For yonder, yonder goes a fife,
And what care I for human life?
The tears fill my astonished eyes,

And my full heart is like to break,
And yet 'tis all embannered lies,
A lie those little drummers make.
Oh, it is wickedness to clothe
Those horrid, grinning things which stalk
Hidden in music, like a queen
Who in a garden in glory walks,
Till good men love the things they loathe.
Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this.
Oh, snap the fife, and still the drum,
And know the monster as she is.

THE CHAIRMAN voiced the thanks of the Club to Mr. Ross for his thought-stirring address.

EMPIRE RELATIONS—PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL

AN ADDRESS BY LIEUT. H. GLADSTONE HILL.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, October 28, 1926.

COL. ALEXANDER FRASER, Vice-President, introduced the speaker.

LIEUTENANT HILL was received with applause, and spoke as follows:—

Mr. President and gentlemen, it is no mere platitude for me to say that I am delighted to be here to-day, and to see that one word so prominent here—"Empire." As one must get a proper perspective in order to appreciate a picture, so I feel that I can better appreciate the glory of the British Empire after having travelled approximately 60,000 miles in the last 12 months, having gone through New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Great Britain and part of Canada and the United States, with a mind that is ready to mop up all the impressions made upon it.

The New Zealanders may seem to be your poor relations, and you may not want to know them, but I am going to suggest that you have got to know us, whether you like it or not, because, as we are members of one family, it is essential to Imperial unity that we should know one another; and I am going to suggest that you know less of us than we do of you. I don't know that this is the fault of your educational system, but the information imparted to me in school enabled me to visualize where I was to go in Canada and the United States, so that I was very little out in my reckoning; therefore I think our educational system is sound.

I have been surprised to find that very few Canadians know much about New Zealand, and they care less.

That is an attitude of mind that you will have to get away from. If a Club such as this is to be of any service at all it must be educational. You know, there is so much balderdash talked and written to-day that it is one of the finest things to come down to earth and realize who we are, what the Empire is, what part we are playing in the Empire, and so on. In order to understand the Empire as a whole you must know and appreciate its component parts, both the people and their country.

I propose to take you through the tour which I have been making, and it may be well to give you some information to kick-off with. I am director of the Australian National Band, which is composed of representatives of every state in our Commonwealth, and although we are without government or municipal assistance except their good-will, which is very nice but does not pay railway fares, they have sent us on this world-tour. Speaking as a New Zealander, I think it is the finest advertisement that Australia has ever had. We have been able to draw people, for over 75% of the people appreciate band music, while 20% think they do, and the remaining 5% go in for high-brow stuff. The band will pay Toronto a visit on Armistice Day; they have been entertaining various other clubs in Canada.

This tour is not a paying proposition to the members of the band, for there is not a man that will not reach home a jolly sight poorer than when he left; but from the Empire point of view the tour is a great success. We have been able to get the people who do not seem to realize that Australia is something else than a land populated by kangaroos. The Dean of Rochester University the other day said he had never realized what Australia was until he saw such fine, strapping fellows on the platform—I am not referring to myself.

Maori mythology says 4,000 years ago some Polynesian natives were driven by circumstances to make a canoe and migrate southward. They had seen the birds going south, and coming north at another season, and with their limited brain-power—although I sometimes think that they had more brain capacity than some people of to-day—they realized that land was there, and so they went. The Maori tradition says that when one of the natives was fishing for food one day he found something that was hard to handle on his line, and it turned out to be the island of New Zealand. The Maori likes to give his information in a form that impresses the mind, and all his mythology is couched in such terms as those. However, the Maoris found New Zealand before Tasman or the English navigators.

It is quite true that New Zealand is small, but it is the richest country in the world, because of its climate. I was at one time secretary to the Managers Association of the butter and cheese factories in Auckland Province, and at that time we were exporting less than 500 tons per annum. Last year the production for exportation from that province alone was around 30,000 to 40,000 tons; this was the increase within 20 years. One company, with headquarters in my town, Hamilton, manufactures 20,000 tons of butter and 18,000 or 20,000 tons of cheese, besides milk products and butter-fat. New Zealand is a big competitor of Canada, and exports 55,000 tons of butter, and as many tons of cheese. It seems to me we will always be a competitor of Canada, but after visiting England and studying the situation there from every point of view I want to put this proposition to you quite plainly. England is our greatest customer, and always will be, as far as cheese is concerned, particularly; and I am satisfied that New Zealand and Canada are going to be the greatest producers for the British Empire; they will be the producing elements of the Empire. Australia will be such, but to a lesser extent, because it is subject to drouth.

New Zealand has a system of government grading that has been the making of the dairy industry there. A government grade-note is an impartial document that is recognized the world over as of face value. I can take a bill of lading into any bank, and as long as it conforms to the numbers and quantities of the shipment I can draw cash for it. Under no other system in the world can there possibly be such a result. That system prevails in our meats; in grading of lambs it is very extensive and rigorous, with the result that on the English market New Zealand butter, cheese and meats have a very high standard. Unfortunately we do not control the product after it reaches the retailers in England, and that is the greatest problem facing New Zealand and Canada, and it will not be solved by the producers themselves.

I will give you an illustration of the difficulties we have to contend with in this respect. I went into a store in Nottingham and said I was a visitor from New Zealand, and asked to look at the tag on the Canterbury lamb. This lamb has a world-wide reputation because the feed which grows on the plain and the water that comes down from the mountain give the meat a delicious flavor, so that lambs are brought from outside and topped off in Canterbury, and when sold as Canterbury lambs they fetch a premium. On looking at this tag I found it was labelled "Gisborne"—which is about a thousand miles from Canterbury.

New Zealand is only on the fringe in the matter of production. By having number one cows in each herd in the dominion she could increase production 50% by herd-testing, and feeding. It is true with cows as with humans, that we get as much out of life as we are prepared to put into it; and we cannot expect the Almighty to give us butter-fat if we do not give the cow something to chew and make it. It is very hard to knock these sentiments into the heads of the farmers, but the day has come in New Zealand where butter-fat production will be doubled; the herds are going to be decreased in size, and the farmers are going in for small holdings and intensive cultivation.

New Zealand has other features, among which are its fish, and on the north of the Island there is sword-fishing. Perhaps some of you saw the sword-fish in the National Exhibition here, with a sword about two feet long. Those fish are very dangerous, and yet they are caught with a rod and line, weighing up to 900 pounds. I have seen launches where they have ripped the bottom right through. Some of the most wonderful scenery in the world is to be found on the south coast of New Zealand.

From Wellington, New Zealand, to Sydney, Australia, is 1248 miles. As far as the Pacific is concerned, New Zealand and Australia are in a strategic position. I have observed that this Club has been giving some attention to our problems out there, but in other parts of Canada I found a great lack of knowledge, I might almost say ignorance, concerning the Pacific problems. Now, this has to be forced upon you, for the centre of gravity is undoubtedly shifting to the Pacific, and both Canada and the United States are interested on the Pacific Coast, and you folks at least will have to give more attention to that portion of the world.

Australia, by its policy of "White Australia," has simply thrown down the gauntlet to all the people who would like to populate that country at the expense of the British people—which means that Australia and the Empire must populate Australia in order logically to occupy it. It would be quite illogical to say that 7,000,000 people could occupy a country larger than the United States and nearly as large as the whole of Canada and call it occupation. It is for Great Britain and her statesmen and the Australian statesmen to recognize this, and arrange to meet this very great difficulty as far as immigration is concerned. After coming through South Africa and realizing some of the difficulties of the color problem I am satisfied that the "White Australia" policy is right. That is why I suggest to Canada that you watch your immigration, and keep your population white and clean. If you have the right people you can work with them, but if you have a hybrid population you do not know where you will be; I don't know, and I don't think you do.

Australia has the longest railway in the world from point to point, roughly 5,000 miles. Some of you railway men here may not like my comparing your railway fares with ours, but I am going to. From Adelaide I travelled for three days in a first-class sleeper, a compartment car, with all meals included, for $55; so you will understand the position. One of the railway difficulties that Australia has to contend with is the difference in gauge on various parts of the system, some being 4 ft. 8½ inches, some 5 ft. 8½ inches, some sections 3 ft. 6, and these are intermingled. Experts have been consulted, and they have all recommended different things, so that nothing has been done. There is a stretch of 333 miles across the plain that is an absolutely straight line. The temperature was 107 degrees when I crossed that plain.

West Australia is the largest state in the Commonwealth; Queensland is next. To give you an idea of distances I may say that up here in Port Darwin there is a very large freezing plant—closed now on account of labour trouble; but they used to buy the young stock around here—(pointing south on the map)—and trek them up to the coast; the animals would leave when six weeks old, and by the time they arrived at the Port they would be two and a half or three years old. I assure you that is quite correct. To my mind that is one of the finest methods of raising cattle at other people's expense.

Brisbane is the capital of Queensland, and a very important point comes in here. At the canefields, the Kanakas used to do all the work. It was decided to repatriate them, and since then the whites have done the work in a country where it was considered impossible for whites to live.

The capital of New South Wales, Sydney, is the second city of the Empire, and one of the finest with one of the best harbours in the world, and with a population of a million and a half. There is a good deal of rivalry between Sydney and Melbourne, I would not say like that between Montreal and Toronto, but I will say between Toronto and Montreal. Sydney would not agree to Melbourne being the capital for 25 years, so they have another capital, Canberra, which the Duke of York is going to open next May.

The railway line across the plain referred to was built more as a strategic line, but it has been paying its way, and they are finding that this section of country, where agriculture was considered impossible years ago, is being made wonderfully fertile by means of fertilizers and irrigation. The mines in this part—Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie—are known the world over.

During the 16 days' trip from Australia to South Africa our band played for five hours each day, practising, and this was quite a picnic for the 900 passengers. When we arrived at Durban we were met by the mayor, whose first words were, "Gentlemen, I wish you to understand that this is the most English-speaking portion of South Africa." I never saw a man more proud of being English. Johannesburg is not in that category; I am told they are changing its name to "Jewhannesburg."

At Durban I was struck with one thing, the lack of which in Canada I must comment on, for I have found an absolute lack of what I might call civic pride or interest in providing public halls. In Australia, New Zealand and South Africa the municipalities have many halls. In Durban they have a magnificent block of buildings that cost before the war £670,000. It is a very fine thing for a municipality to have a nice hall in which to entertain people when you want to do so.

In Durban the main talk was around the kaffir canteen and compound. There are three classes of colored people in Africa. There are the Indians who came over years ago from India under indentures, who have since worked out their indentures and have become a really very great power in financial and land matters and otherwise. The position is so acute that the Union Parliament of Africa and the Indian Government arranged for a round-table discussion for the repatriation of those Indians. That shows the wonderful state of the British Empire, when two peoples of absolutely diverse views can discuss problems of such vital interest to both countries. The Indians are intensely sensitive in regard to the treatment they are receiving in South Africa, yet they appreciate so much being a part of the British Empire that they are prepared to consider any means to bring their people home.

That is one of the most wonderful tributes to the British Empire; yet I see that Dean Inge—that gloomy, dyspeptic dean—has been talking of the decadence of the British Empire. I really cannot find language to speak of him; but I think the limit has been reached when the Chicago *Herald* has got to take Dean Inge, a prelate of the English Church, to task for telling untruths about the British Empire. If the Dean could find something out of all the privileges and knowledge he has had of the British Empire, I suggest for his serious consideration that he should do so, because all that he is saying is not only hurtful, as far as the Empire is concerned, but is absolutely untrue.

Then there is in South Africa the kaffir and the colored problem—the mulatto. The kaffiir is the native of Africa. The mayor and the councillors took the conductor of the band and myself on a trip through all this district. They had absolutely prohibited the kaffir from getting intoxicating liquor. It was almost a penal offence for anybody to be found serving liquor to a kaffir. But the kaffir is no different from other people, and the moment you say, "You shan't," human nature backs up and says, "I shall." The kaffir had a right, as much as the other men, to get the beer, and the result was that the second situation was worse than the first; so the municipality decided that they would take control of this, and they established a canteen.

The kaffirs are all registered. You can do that with niggers, but you cannot do it with white people; of course I am not suggesting that you could register everybody here. The kaffirs have their identification discs, and they come down in a long queue, and the man at the desk recognizes them. He sees the kaffir's ticket with his number, and the kaffir puts his threepence on the counter and goes around and gets his mug of beer. This beer is manufactured by and under the control of the municipal health department. The kaffir sits down and has his dinner, and goes back to work. If he wants a second mug to take home he gets in again, but he loses his job or he doesn't get it. The profits derived from this go, in the first place, to build a hospital for kaffir women and supply all their hospital needs. I had the pleasure of going through the hospital, and it is a wonderful institution.

The result is two-fold. Now, I am speaking as a total abstainer; I have never touched liquor in my life. I found this point of view very emphatic—that the native is getting a fair deal. This is the basic principle of British control of the natives. British law and justice is the basis of the British Empire, and the fundamental principle on which the Empire stands. Go to any country in the world where the British are in control, and I say without any hesitation if you meet a foreigner who has been condemned to hang, he will not question it. He will say, "I just get my deserts." I have met Italians, Greeks, and other foreigners, and negroes, and if they have been ordered a lashing by a British magistrate they are satisfied that they have got justice.

In Africa the kaffirs were not satisfied that they were getting justice, because white men could get what they were prevented from getting. The kaffir does not mind being restricted; and my experience is that you cannot restrict what you cannot control. The authorities set out, in the first place, to control it; then they had a chance to restrict. The kaffir has been placed where he feels he is getting a fair deal, and instead of getting the horrid stuff and the rotten muck that was distributed there and throughout the world, the quality of the stuff is controlled, and the profits derived from it are going for the assistance of his own women-folk. The result is that the kaffir is a very happy man to-day. I pass that on just for your information.

I was in Cape Town when the Hertzog government tried to pass the Color-Bar Bill. That was opposed to the British idea of the protection of natives, and as such was the subject of the biggest demonstration of all the medical and legal fraternities and the various churches and denominations, headed by the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops. The Assembly turned down the Bill, which I knew would never have had the Royal assent.

I knew that General Hertzog would not be allowed to go to London on his own, and I see that from time to time South Africans and the papers are reminding the British people that he does not represent the South African Union. There is a good deal of controversy going on in regard to Hertzog's ideals instead of Smuts'. However, it is my idea that it is the older element, the Dutch, that is responsible for the bitter feeling. I travelled two days and two nights with Dutchmen who had been in the Great War, and their feeling was that as soon as the old element passes out all this bitter hatred in South Africa will be an incident, and there will be good feeling between the races.

I had been away from London for 41 years; I took my family out to New Zealand when I was *five* years old. Many opportunities were given me by relatives, and I had the entree to many places. By courtesy of the C.P.R., with which every Canadian ought to be jolly well pleased as one of the finest and best managed concerns, I was enabled to meet a number of American bankers when I visited London. I am wondering whether Canada, by reason of the close proximity of the lesser, is overlooking and forgetting the fact that she is a component part of the greater.

Here comes a question of visualizing, and a question also of perspective. When I reached London I realized what a terribly small pebble I and our country was on the great imperial beach. I got some idea of the banking institutions there, and the wonderful control of the street traffic. Oh, dear me, I tell you I took my hat off many a time in London. If you will only realize, when you go there, that you are a child of the grand old couple at home, you will go away from there and your hat won't fit you.

Think of the situation. Britain had loaned France £60,000,000 sterling. It is estimated that she lost in Russia over £700,000,000 sterling through the failure of the Soviet regime to take over the debts of the Tsarist regime. She has carried Italy on her back; she has Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania, Spain and her own Dominions. She financed the war in Germany. She has admitted and has paid her obligation to the United States of America; yet America, as her creditor nation, was paying her an appreciated value for her sovereign at that date. I tell you, gentlemen, history has no precedent for such a condition of affairs.

The hidden wealth of Britain to-day must be simply enormous; it absolutely beggars description, and it is not in times of post-war business, and after making money; it is recognized that it is in a time of dire need and distress that Britain is financing the world, with her own coal strike going on, which is costing her so many millions; yet her creditor nation is paying somewhere above par, and it makes me proud to be a member of that family.

In regard to motor traffic, there are no speed laws in London. I consider their system is the finest thing out. I have been a motor driver for twenty years, and I consider that the fixing of a speed limit is wrong, because what may be safe at one time is unsafe in other circumstances. I may go along King Street in this city at 4 o'clock in the morning at fifty miles an hour and be quite safe, and yet 25 miles later in the day may be very dangerous, though if I go at that speed I am within the law. London puts the onus on the driver, and that is the proper way to do it.

London's underground railways are absolutely wonderful, and her control of the street traffic is amazing. If they had the New York system in London they would block the traffic in five minutes. I never saw anything in my life like the system in Madison Avenue in New York. The controller presses a button and everything stops at once. It is just like a Gilbert and Sullivan opera when they put the sob-stuff on and the pirates go to pieces. At the intersection everything stops; it doesn't matter whether there is anything in the cross-streets.

It has been a great pleasure to be here this afternoon, and I am glad if anything I have said has enabled you to visualize to some extent our places in the Empire, and has impressed you, as I have been impressed, with the conviction that we have a heritage which we must maintain and fight for. Our forefathers have built strongly, and it is up to us to do everything we can for the maintenance and upbuilding of this grand British Empire.

THE CHAIRMAN voiced the thanks of the Club to LIEUTENANT HILL for his address.

INTERNATIONAL, EMPIRE AND DOMINION CO-OPERATION

AN ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT WILLINGDON, G.C.S.I., G.C.K.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., ETC., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, in conjunction with the Canadian Club of Toronto.
Monday, November 15, 1926.

THE PRESIDENT of the Empire Club welcomed HIS EXCELLENCY, who spoke as follows:—Col. Kirkpatrick and Gentlemen, may I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the extraordinarily kind and generous way in which you have recommended me to this large and distinguished audience. There is only one criticism I would like to make in regard to your own speech, and that was that you said I had one attribute.

I hope profoundly that in the future you may find that I have several more. It is a very great pleasure to me—I need hardly tell you that—to meet and make the acquaintance of this large and distinguished audience which I see before me to-day,—members of two great Clubs in this City which I understand hold a large and great influence in the social life of the whole of Canada. But I confess at the outset of my remarks that I have had considerable difficulty in selecting a subject on which I should address you this afternoon, owing to the curious limitations—I think the necessary limitations—which are placed upon me on account of my official position.

I noticed in the press a few weeks ago that my predecessor, Lord Byng, in a speech which he made at a dinner given in his honour at the Canada Club in London, is reported to have said that he had made eleven hundred speeches while he was Governor-General, all about nothing, because the Governor-General really has nothing to say. Those of you who have heard Lord Byng's speeches will, I am sure, agree that this is altogether too gloomy a statement, but if there is any truth in it at all, the prospect before me is certainly alarming, almost of a dangerous character, particularly so having regard to my previous activities in public life.

In the early days of my public service, I was for ten years a Member of the House of Commons, with full liberty to express my opinion on all political subjects. When I became Governor, first of Bombay, then of Madras, I was, it is true, removed from party politics at home, but was, besides being a Governor, head of the Executive Government and practically Prime Minister, with again complete liberty to discuss great political questions as they arose.

But now—in my present official position, I am perfectly rightly, bound to keep myself clear of the discussion of any political issue, and I am sure you will therefore understand that this fact puts considerable limitation on the subject matter for any speech. I intend, believe me, during my life here to keep strictly to the narrow path of virtue in this matter, but if, owing to my previous experiences, I ever stray from the narrow way, I trust that some sympathy and consideration may be shown me, owing to the difficulty I may find in getting rid of old habits.

Well, now, having explained to you my limitations and difficulties in the matter of making a speech, I want to give you to-day, from the point of view of a newcomer, my first impressions on my arrival in Canada.

My first and most vivid impression is the wonderful kindness and evidences of friendship which I have been shown, since I arrived here, by every class and community of Canadian whom I have hitherto met. In Quebec, in Montreal, in Ottawa and here in Toronto, I have been received everywhere with every evidence of the most generous goodwill. I am perfectly aware that the reason for this is largely due to the fact that the loyal citizens of Canada recognize in me the personal representative of our beloved Sovereign King George,—but I do feel that you have taken this stranger into your family circle. Such kindness has warmed my heart to you all; has made me feel entirely at home here; yes, and has made me determined to spare no endeavour on my part to help you on the path of progress and prosperity which I see stretching out before you.

And the next impression I want to give you is as to the general feeling and spirit of the people of this country, now that I have had some opportunities of forming an opinion after discussion with various individuals during my short residence in your midst. I remember that, when I was given a dinner by the Canada Club in London before I left England, I made a speech in which I stated that, as a result of my trip across this continent in January, when I was on my way to China, I had formed the strong impression that the spirit of the people of Canada was full of optimism and confidence in the future. I do not know whether Governors-General are allowed to be this, but I am almost becoming a super-optimist myself. My reason for this is that on my return here, after a ten months interval, I find that spirit more fully developed than it was then. Believe me, I am getting thoroughly innoculated with that spirit myself, for I feel certain that you can look back with satisfaction on the fact that you have weathered the storms, you have withstood the years of depression in the past, which were largely due to the immense sacrifices you all made, both in men and money, in the Great War, and that you can look forward to a period of advancement, development, and increasing prosperity in all your public activities during the coming years.

It is a truism to state that the prosperity of our country very largely depends on the successful results of the harvests, more especially from our vast grain-growing areas in the West, and although we must all regret that weather conditions have been frequently trying, I am glad to learn that the harvest this year will be of a fairly satisfactory character. This fact must reflect on the general economic condition of the country, more especially on the receipts of the great railway systems, which from published accounts appear to be showing increasingly good returns. Certainly the speeches which I have recently read, of the heads of our two great railway systems, display an optimism for the future which should be a tonic for us all.

I have already had some opportunities, and hope to have many more, to inspect some of the great industrial projects which are being developed in parts of this country. On this matter I can naturally say very little, for I don't know enough, but my first impression most certainly is that in all its parts our commercial and industrial developments are progressing in a most sound and satisfactory manner.

I have already been here long enough to know that there are some people who have or have had gloomy forebodings as to Canada's future, owing to the fact that much of its development is being influenced through the enterprise of our neighbours in the United States. I trust I shan't be considered to be straying from the narrow path of virtue, of which I spoke just now, if I say quite frankly what my first impressions are on this important matter. We want our great industrial schemes developed. We would be glad to see the development undertaken through the agency of the brains and enterprise of the people of the British Empire, but if these for the moment are not forthcoming, I have already lived here long enough to be able to say with all confidence that I do not anticipate any of the serious effects which some seem to think will be the result of the fact that our American friends are ready and willing to promote these remunerative enterprises in our country, which give employment to our people, more trade, and in consequence a more widespread prosperity to all our various commercial interests, and which will greatly benefit all classes of our citizens.

You may have seen that in the first speech which I made in Canada, on my arrival in Quebec, I said that I was going to take one word for my motto while I lived here— the one word "co-operation." It has been my good fortune, during my life, to have visited many different countries of the world, and the longer I live the more I am convinced that, if we are to secure a better feeling among nations, we must so work that the spirit of co-operation and good understanding takes the place of the spirit of want of confidence and distrust, which one observes is so general everywhere. And surely this should be easier to attain now than it was in the past, for, owing to scientific developments, both in communications and means of transit, all the countries of the world are in much closer touch to-day than they ever were before.

I want, if you will allow me, to say a few words on three aspects of the word "co-operation", as they strike me to-day. They are—in the first place, international co-operation; then there is co-operation within the British Empire; and in the third place, co-operation within this country itself; all three aspects very important in their own particular way

With regard to international co-operation, there can be no doubt that much is being achieved through the great and valuable work of the League of Nations. I had the privilege of attending one of the meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva some two years ago, as a delegate representing the Indian Empire, and was much struck by the co-operative spirit that was shown by the delegates of the 54 nations who were there represented. There can be no possible doubt that the mere fact of the delegates living side by side at Geneva, discussing in a friendly spirit, during the three or four weeks of work there every year, many important questions which arose, and meeting at various social gatherings where they got to learn much better than in any other way the individual characteristics of the different nationalities, has done much to rub off corners and to produce among nations the spirit of co-operation, and has got rid of many difficulties and disagreements which have existed between them before.

I come next to co-operation within the British Empire, and as to this, of course, the periodical meetings of the great statesmen from all parts of the Empire have had the most satisfactory results, and I sincerely trust that the Imperial Conference, which is now sitting in London, may prove of great value and have the effect of producing a spirit of closer co-operation and understanding between us all. But I think we want more than this. We want, each of us individually, to get a more intimate personal knowledge of all the Empire's different parts. Our first duty is, of course, to that part which is our own Motherland, but I think we should never forget that we have some responsibility in interesting ourselves in all other parts of the Empire as well. And how can we achieve this? There seem to me to be two principal ways by which we can secure this—one is by the establishment of direct telegraphic communication between all parts of the Empire, which will give the press of this country a much better opportunity of keeping us informed of what is going on elsewhere, and the other is by individuals of the Empire taking all the opportunities they can to travel, and gain experience and knowledge of the interests and requirements in all the various countries of the Empire, and by giving the results of their experiences to their fellow citizens on their return.

With regard to the former, you are doubtless aware of the great scheme for establishing an Imperial chain of telegraphic communication between all parts of the Empire, and this seems likely to be an accomplished fact before long; for you may have noticed that only a short time ago I received from the Secretary of State for the Dominions, the first telegram ever sent by that marvellous new invention, the Beam system, which seems likely to help towards a solution of this important problem.

With regard to the latter—and I can speak with some experience when I say this—there can be nothing more inspiring to any lover of the British Empire than to travel and to see for himself what men of our race have achieved in all its parts, Judging from the recent speech of Sir Samuel Hoare, British Minister of Aviation, I should think that very soon you will be able to fly for week-end trips to almost any part of the British Empire.

I may be biased, for I have lived and worked there for may years, but I would strongly recommend to anyone a visit to India—a wonderful country—where for long years some two hundred thousand men and women of our race, including the Army, have administered that great continent with its 320,000,000 inhabitants, and where you will find a loyal people satisfied with the fairness and justice of British rule. But let me give you one word of warning, if any of you are inspired in the future to undertake such a visit, don't go without letters of introduction, and while it may be a rash proceeding, owing to the letter-writing it may involve, I am going to make you an offer, and it is this—that if any one does want to take a trip to India, he should apply to the Governor-General for Letters of Introduction, and I would be delighted to give him letters to some of my friends out there, in which case I can guarantee him the most generous hospitality and kindness.

With regard to co-operation between all the different parts of this country, I am delighted to see that this is fully recognized and is being seriously undertaken by both individuals and organizations in its various parts. I was only lately reading the most interesting report of the Annual Meeting of the representatives of the various Chambers of Commerce from all over Canada, held at Winnipeg last year, and noticed that in all the speeches the necessity for co-operation was strongly and forcibly emphasized. In a great country such as this is, where conditions of life and interests must vary in its different parts, common knowledge and common understanding of those interests and conditions will, I am certain, produce a common effort to secure the best results for the general good of the country.

And the last of my first impressions is a conviction which is common to us all. We want capital, we want people. You have in Canada undeveloped resources of all kinds, which (and I use the word advisedly) are practically incalculable, a country where young men and women with grit, courage and determination are bound to make a success of their lives. Most sincerely I hope that my countrymen will seize their opportunities in regard to both these matters, and thus bring mutual benefit and profit both to Canada and the Motherland.

In conclusion let me thank you once more for inviting me to meet you. You will have observed that I am already a complete optimist as to the future of your country. I am proud to be here to help on your progress, and trust that the coming five years may bring peace and plenty and increased prosperity to this wonderful part of our Empire.

MR. G. H. SEDGEWICK, PRESIDENT of the Canadian Club, on behalf of the Empire Club and the Canadian Club, expressed their thanks to His Excellency for his presence and address.

CANADA AND THE SPIRIT OF GENERAL WOLFE

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. W. T. WAUGH, M.A.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, November 25, 1926.

PRESIDENT KIRKPATRICK introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR WAUGH

Mr. President and gentlemen, the title that I originally suggested to the Executive of your Club was a little different and contained reference to my reason for using General Wolfe as the theme for my talk. On the 2nd of January next it will be 200 years since James Wolfe was born at the little Town of Westerham in Kent. So far not very much has been heard in Canada of the approaching anniversary, but I know that here and there celebrations are in preparation, and no doubt when the date comes considerable notice will be taken of it.

There is a widespread tendency now-a-days to belittle the claim of General Wolfe. We are told that his share in the conquest of Canada was only a very subordinate one. We are told that his strategy during the siege of Quebec was faulty. We are even told by some that he was a fraud, a boastful charlatan who had imposed on the credulous Pitt and got himself appointed to a command which he was really not qualified to fill.

Now, it is impossible in an address like this to discuss such charges in detail, and I am not going to attempt it; but it seems to me that such criticisms are all exaggerated and some of them totally false; and I would just like to point out one or two things in this connection.

Wolfe, when all is said and done, was in command of the operations which culminated in the capture of

Quebec, and Quebec was the key of Canada. Quebec had often been beseiged before, but it had only once before been captured, and that was when it was a very poor place, during the very infancy of the colony, so Wolfe's achievement was, with one insignificant exception, unique. It was not only a very remarkable achievement in itself, but it meant the conquest of Canada by the British provided that they could retain their hold of the City. With Quebec in British hands, the rest of the French Colony was merely a question of time. The French knew it well enough, and after a rather half-hearted attempt to recapture the place they put up no serious resistance. The task of taking Quebec, moreover, was an exceedingly difficult one. It was difficult because of physical obstacles; it was difficult because the defenders, the French, had a superiority in numbers; it was difficult because they had a supremely able general, Montcalm.

I often wonder whether anybody who was living at that time except Wolfe could have succeeded in capturing Quebec, for the task demanded a very remarkable combination of qualities—qualities which very few men have possessed. It was not enough to be a good strategist, a good tactician, a man of courage and resolution; he had to be a man of infinite tact, with a singular capacity for co-operating with other people. Wolfe possessed those qualities in a remarkable degree, and there were certainly very few men living at the time of whom that could be said.

Now, if Canada had not fallen at the time of Wolfe's enterprise, when would it have become British? Perhaps never. Perhaps it would have been conquered later on, but if so it would have been a very different Canada that came into British hands, and the Britain that took it would have been a very different Britain; and you may be quite sure that Ontario would not be the Ontario we know. So the importance of Wolfe, however we rate his abilities, is very great on the lives of each one of us; therefore we shall do well to celebrate his birthday when it comes around in a few weeks' time.

Now, it very often happens that these celebrations of interesting anniversaries, while excellent enough in themselves, lead to no fruitful results. We wave flags, and we cheer, and we shout what a splendid fellow he is whom we are commemorating, but we too often have but vague notions about what he did and how he did it, and what we can learn from his life and doings. I want to put before you, if I may, a few reasons why we shall do well to celebrate this anniversary in a thoughtful spirit. I want to put before you a few considerations suggested by Wolfe's career and achievements which I think are of practical value to us at the present time.

To begin with, the man James Wolfe deserves to be honoured for his own sake, for his own character. There is a great deal in it that we can admire. There is a certain amount in it from which we can take warning. There has been a great deal of exaggeration respecting Wolfe. He has been proclaimed as a Heaven-sent genius and no doubt such talk is responsible for the excessive reaction of which I spoke at the outset, which has gone too far in the other direction. Whether Wolfe was a genius or not we cannot say. He had not proved it when he died, but then he was quite young. However, genius or not, there are a great many things about him that compel our admiration. There was, very conspicuous, his cheerful courage—courage not merely in the face of bayonets and bullets, but still more under the pain and sickness with which he was constantly harrassed; for Wolfe, as you doubtless know, was a man of wretched physique and miserable health. His sufferings were very great and very frequent, and during the Siege of Quebec they were for a time exceptionally acute. But all through, Wolfe, somehow or other, with the rarest intervals, maintained the spirit of buoyant optimism. That, I think, is a thing for which we must love him. There are other qualities, perhaps less rare, which are none the less admirable; his devotion to his parents, his capacity for making friends, and one that appealed to me very much—his love of animals, concern for the horses which he had in his military career, and his affection for his dogs, of which he always possessed several, and which figure conspicuously in the letters which he wrote home when overseas.

Then, again, we notice his singular concern for the welfare of men under his command, and his remarkable capacity for winning the love and esteem of his subordinates, his equals, and his superiors. Very few men are able to do that. Wolfe, moreover, was remarkable for his activity and zeal in the performance of his professional duties, and that not merely amid the excitements of war but also during the dull routine of peace. Now, not enough is made of that. Wolfe, in action always did well, and he is famous for his daring and dash and resourcefulness in battle. He showed those qualities in the very first fight at the battle of Gottingen, in which he took part when he was a mere boy. But the least picturesque part of his career seems to me just as worthy of our admiration—the eight years which he spent on dreary garrison work in Scotland and in England, work which he did not like, for he had to live in places which were very disagreeable to him, yet through it all he maintained his keenness for his profession, and he brought his regiment up to such a pitch of efficiency that it was the talk of the whole army.

Those who think of Wolfe as merely a spectacular self-advertising fellow would do well to read the accounts, recorded largely in his own letters, of those dreary years of routine, reading which you cannot fail to recognize the solid, substantial work of the man that was at the foundation of all his showy and brilliant characteristics.

Wolfe was very ambitious. He wanted to attain the highest positions in his profession; not only so, he wanted to fit himself to occupy such positions, and he was always trying to improve himself, to remedy the shortcomings of his education, and to master the technicalities of warfare. Very few officers of his day showed half the serious interest in their professional duties that was displayed by Wolfe.

There are other things about Wolfe which we may well consider. Canadians are proud of being democratic.

Wolfe was of no distinction in his birth; his parents were comparatively poor; he had not much influence behind him; he never went to a great public school, or even to a university; his education was terribly deficient for he became an officer in the Army at the age of 14, and afterwards had no schooling except what he chose to obtain for himself in the intervals of his military duties.

That Wolfe was put in command of Quebec was due to no corruption, no wire-pulling; it was simply due to the belief of Pitt in his merits. There are one or two other points about him. Wolfe was a young man—he was only 32 when he died; he was a volatile young man, critical, unconventional, original. We garnish his sepulchre now-a-days, but I fear we give little encouragement in Canada to young men like him. People thought him mad, and that shrewd old King, George the Second, in a famous remark, said, "Well, if he is mad I wish he would bite some of our other Generals." I sometimes wish that a little of the Wolfe ferocity had got into more young Canadians at the present time. We need some of it in Montreal, however it may be in Toronto.

Here in Canada we have what is called a young country and we are perhaps a little apt to attach excessive importance to brawn and muscle—very necessary things; but here is Wolfe, who had not any brawn, and precious little muscle—a tall, thin, ungainly, ugly man, not at all the military hero of the picture-book; and yet he was pre-eminently a man of action. He had the instincts of a scholar; he treated his profession in a scientific spirit, and his energy and activity were enormous; to remind us that you need not be what is called a husky fellow to become great in the world of deeds.

Wolfe would have got into Quebec but for an untimely French bullet. If he came across the sea now and tried to get into Quebec he would almost certainly be prevented by the immigration officer. If he travelled third-class, as a poor man like Wolfe would probably have to, he would certainly be turned back by an immigration officer. Wolfe could never have passed the medical examination that is imposed on immigrants in the sheds of Quebec. I am not saying that we should allow diseased immigrants to enter this country—far from it—but still I think that the physical deficiencies should remind us that a high and enthusiastic spirit may cover a multitude of bodily defects.

Now, on such an occasion as the 2nd of January next I think we should do more than rivet our gaze merely on the personality of Wolfe. As I tried to indicate, we can examine his character with excellent profit to ourselves; but I think we ought also to consider his deeds from the proper point of view, and see if there are no useful lessons that we can draw from them; whether there is not something in the circumstances in which his achievements were performed which may throw a little light on some of the problems which concern us in the present day. We in Canada are mainly concerned with Wolfe because he took Quebec, for, after all, whether we are Canadians or English, that is the feat on which his fame principally rests. And so I do not want to talk about his doings on the Continent of Europe or in Scotland, or even at the siege of Louisburg; but I do want to draw your attention to some considerations which suggest themselves when we study the course and sequel of the operation conducted by Wolfe in 1759.

Wolfe took Quebec—or at any rate was instrumental in taking it—and he should have credit for that, for it was a very difficult task, and as I suggested, nobody else at the time could have succeeded in it. But Wolfe himself could not have done it unless he had been aided by a number of favouring circumstances Wolfe could not have done it if he had not been supported by a navy with command of the sea. The fact that Canada became British was due largely, perhaps mainly, to British seapower. If the French had had in the River St. Lawrence a naval squadron—which need not have been a strong one—of any fighting power, the expedition would certainly have failed. Now, ever since 1759 British-Canada has enjoyed the protection of the greatest Navy in the world. In the following year it was the British navy that saved Quebec from being re-captured by the French; and since that time Canada has never been in any serious danger of conquest by an overseas power because of the British Navy. Owing to that, Canadians are perhaps apt to forget that Canada is a great maritime country with extremely important shipping interests and a very long coast-line.

Well, what is to happen to Canada's Naval defence now? In the past it has been part of the duty of the British Navy to defend Canada. Is it now part of the duty of the Navy supported by the British taxpayer to defend Canada? That document coming from the Imperial Conference which was published in the papers a day or two ago is ambiguous on the point—but when I consider the spirit of that document I am led to conclude that it is no longer part of the duty of the British Navy to defend Canada or any British Dominion. It may be to the interest of Britain to employ the Navy for that purpose, but I do not see how it can logically be argued that in future the British Navy is under any obligation to do so. Now, that is a matter which should give us food for very serious thought. What is Canada going to do about it? This is not a political address, and I am not going to discuss questions of this sort, but I merely want to put one or two considerations of that before your mind so that you can ponder over them.

Now, to go further, it is doubtful if the conquest of Canada by the British could have been achieved unless there had been grave weakness in the defence. The French enjoyed many advantages. They had superior numbers; they were on the defensive; they were in a very strong position; they had time on their side. So many historians, writing from a distance, have forgotten how soon the St. Lawrence freezes in the autumn, and have overlooked the fact that what Wolfe was trying to do had to be done in a hurry. Time was on the side of the defence, and the French also had a first-rate general in Montcalm, a man for whom everybody ought to have the most unstinted admiration—and yet, with all those advantages, the French were defeated. Well, of course

Wolfe had something to do with it; Wolfe's officers had something to do with it; Wolfe's troops had a good deal to do with it; and the soldiers of the British Fleet as well. But still the defeat was due partly to the faults of the French themselves.

In the first place, there was great corruption in the Canadian Government at the time. The Government was being run for the profit of a gang of unscrupulous scoundrels headed by the Intendant, Bagot. Now, it would be well to remember that Bagot was not a French-Canadian; he was a Frenchman of France; but there were Frenchmen of France and French-Canadians mixed up indiscriminately in the business, and by those men the King of France and the people of Canada alike were scandalously defrauded. There was no efficiency in the Government. The officials were largely knaves who cared only for feathering their own nest, and poor Montcalm continually found his operations hampered because the money which ought to have gone into the defence had gone into the pockets of this unscrupulous crowd of profiteers. Well, of course that meant weakness in various directions. The French-Canadian people, although they did not know the full extent of what was going on, yet had a general idea of the scandals that were perpetrated, and their morale was damaged.

Then of course there were a great many officers in important places who should not have been there at all. For example, Captain Vergor, a member of the gang, was in Command of the French Guard placed at the head of Wolfe's Cove on the night when the surprise took place. He was lazy, careless, and perhaps treacherous. Anyway, Wolfe knew he was there and knew what sort of man he was.

Then in addition to this corruption there was a vast amount of jealousy and dissension between the French-Canadians and the French from France. The animosity between them was very strong. It affected the morale, and affected the greatest persons in the colony—Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, and Montcalm, the Commander of the French Fleet, and as between the two the blame rests almost entirely on Vaudreuil. He showed a petty jealousy which was continuously thwarting Montcalm, until it became almost impossible for Montcalm to control even the French troops from France which he had been sent out to command. The worst consequence of this spirit was the refusal of Vaudreuil to strengthen the guard at Wolfe's Cove when Montcalm requested him to do so. He said he would see about it the next day—anything rather than carry out Montcalm's advice on the spot; but when the next day came the British were in possession of the Plains of Abraham.

Now, though in this particular quarrel Vaudreuil was mainly to blame, still a certain amount of blame attached to the French Government, which did not take a proper interest in Canada, and regarded the war as a side-show. It neglected to supply the Canadians with proper means of defence. It had not sent them enough soldiers, and very often the Frenchmen who came over displayed a supercilious contempt for the Canadians which must have been exceedingly irritating. And so with one thing and another, you have this deplorable rift between the two elements in the French defence, this refusal to cooperate, followed by the success of the common enemy.

Now, Vaudreuil was a perfectly loyal subject of the French Crown; so were the French-Canadians. They did not want to see the British conquer their colony, not at all; but they refused to think things out clearly; they refused to set before their minds the alternative—loyalty to France, with its logical consequence, cooperating with France, or separation from it. And, refusing to look facts in the face, they allowed themselves to be carried away by their petty jealousy, not meaning to do any serious harm to the French cause, but unwittingly they brought about the loss of the French possessions. We can see the folly of the French; we can blame their corruption; we can despise their petty jealousies, their emphasis on differences rather than on causes of unity; but I wonder, gentlemen, whether we have any good ground to throw stones at them?

There is a further reflection which I will put before you briefly. It is suggested by the sequel to the British Conquest of Canada. In Wolfe's Army there were some American troops who took an active part in the scene. The American colonists were of course inveterate foes of French-Canada, and it was in fact to save the American colonies from the French that the British undertook the conquest of Canada; they did not at the time particularly want the country. When Quebec fell, and when later on Montreal followed, the American colonists broke out into songs of triumph. You may read some of the things they said in Parkman's History of Montcalm and Wolfe, where he quotes from some of the speeches and sermons which were preached in New England glorifying the triumph of British liberty, and celebrating the downfall of the Scarlet Woman on the heights of Quebec and the Plains of St. Lawrence. Very eloquent it was, and all very loyal, and very enthusiastic for the British cause. Sixteen years after Wolfe took Quebec, Quebec was again being besieged. It was besieged by Americans and defended by British, and the British defenders had the general sympathy and a certain amount of support from the French-Canadians. Now, many reflections suggest themselves at this point; but the point I wish to emphasize particularly is this—when Wolfe took Canada he rendered possible—more than that, he rendered likely—the loss of the American colonies to Britain. But few people at the time suspected that that would happen. Most would have laughed at such a prediction; it was unthinkable that there should be war between Britain and the colonies; just as to us it may be unthinkable that Canada should ever separate from the Empire, or that there should ever be war between Britain and the United States.

Now, to the historian nothing is unthinkable, because the incredible has so often happened; and the moral to be learned from the astounding consequences of the conquest of Canada, it seems to me, is that we must be very careful not to allow our minds to be befogged by easy phrases and pleasant catch words. The most unexpected things come to pass, and if we do not want a thing to happen, it is no use saying, "Oh, such a thing never could happen; it is unthinkable." We have to employ our brains and our energies in doing all we can to prevent the occurrence of what we dread. If British Statesmen had thought clearly what the situation really was like in America after Canada ceased to be French they would probably have handled the American Colonies very differently, and their loss would have been postponed and might perhaps have been altogether averted; and if some unthinkable things about which we speak so glibly do in the end come to pass it will be because we trusted too much in words and did not trust enough to deeds; because we had not applied ourselves to preventing disasters which we feared, owing to the influence which pleasant catch-words have had over our minds.

I am afraid, gentlemen, that there is a wide-spread tendency in Canada and elsewhere to-day to allow slogans and party cries—call them what you will—to do the duty of hard thinking and resolute action. I have been reading in the newspapers this week a great many very pleasant things about the Magna Charta of the Dominions; about the increase in the prestige of the Crown which will result from it; about the strengthening of the bonds of Empire which is going to occur in consequence of the recent Imperial Conference and its deeds. Well, that is all very nice if we really think things out and come to the conclusion that these desirable consequences will occur; but I am very much afraid, from what I read, that most of those comfortable phrases are thrown out without much regard for what they mean.

I have seen two newspaper reports which appeared to me to contain real evidence that the writers have looked facts in the face when considering the report presented the other day to the Imperial Conference. One was from a British Labour Newspaper, the "Herald," which said—"This means the break-up of the Empire, and we are very pleased about it"—that is a rough summary. The other was from your own newspaper, the "Globe," which said, in effect—"This means the break-up of the Empire, and we are very sorry about it."

Gentlemen, I am not saying whether those two newspapers are right or wrong. My only point is that I would rather have that sort of thing said plainly and openly than have a lot of optimistic, comfortable formulae contradicting one another very often—presented for the consumption of the unthinking public. Articles like that of the "Globe" or that of the "Herald" do at least stir people up and make them think, and in that way they are rendering far greater service than the optimistic platitudes with which most newspapers content themselves.

Well, you may think I have got a good way from home; but the sequel to the conquest of Canada suggested to me in many ways the situation that confronts us to-day. We are very confident; we think that things have taken a turn for the better, and will go very well in the future; and yet that is just what was thought by the British in 1759 and 1760 in regard to the prospects of their Empire; and then in less than 20 years there came the greatest disaster which the Empire has ever experienced. And so it behooves us to be careful, to think clearly, to act for the promotion of the causes that we have at heart, and not to be content merely with talking about it.

Then when the 2nd of January comes, let us by all means celebrate Wolfe's birth. Let us shout as loudly as we like in honour of the man, because he deserves it. Let us gain inspiration from his example. But let us also think what Wolfe would say of us if he could come back now and see what we are doing; and let us ponder deeply on the events in which he took part, and their consequences, for those events may help us to understand ourselves better.

PROF. WRONG, of Toronto University, voiced the thanks of the Club to the speaker for his address.

HUDSON BAY RAILWAY AND IMMIGRATION

ADDRESS BY COL. R. H. WEBB, D.S.O., M.C.

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Friday, December 3, 1926.

THE PRESIDENT introduced the Speaker, who spoke as follows:—

I am very glad to have an opportunity of speaking to the Empire Club, because I believe you are vitally interested in the development of Canada as an integral part of the Empire, and therefore you must be vitally interested in the problems of Western Canada, one of which is the Hudson Bay Railway. To most of you people it seems to be a joke. Some of you seem to think that the Western people want something that is of no value at all, and wonder why Toronto or Montreal should be called upon to provide a railway into the arctic circle. But look back to the days when your T. & N. O. Railway was started. What was it for? To go to James Bay, wasn't it? And why has it not reached James Bay? Because it is to open up the natural resources of Northern Ontario that you have not dreamed of. Northern Ontario means much to Toronto, to Ontario, to Canada, and to the Empire. You did not continue to James Bay because you knew that James Bay is not capable of navigation, and you were very wise to include a right-of-way to Port Nelson, on Hudson Bay; so you have a great interest in the development in the Hudson Route, and particularly to Port Nelson. I say to you—and I do not care who you are or where you come from—that Hudson Bay is an all-year-round route; and you cannot say that of Montreal. I know it is a startling statement, but I want you to realize that Port Nelson is one of the few seaports on the American Continent that is open all the year round, and that Hudson Bay and Hudson Straights are open all the year round; deny it who can.

In the development of Western Canada lies the prosperity of Toronto, and Ontario, and the whole of this Dominion. The Hudson Bay Railway is not a sectional proposition at all. Who provided money for it? Did you? No, but the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta provided the money, and the rest of Canada never contributed one dollar, and you are not asked for one dollar. $28,000,000 worth of land of those three Prairie provinces were set aside to build the road, and the Federal Government has spent roughly $19,000,000 of the $28,000,000 to build a road as far as they have gone, and the balance is in the consolidated Fund at Ottawa, and will complete that road to Port Nelson.

But the people of Western Canada look for you to give them the proper support. They are interested in knowing why all this money is being spent in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Halifax and St. John, and the people of the West are told that they are not allowed to have any money to solve the problems of the development of Western Canada because our economic problems to-day do not permit of it. If the building of the Hudson Bay Railway to its completion is a problem of finance, western people want to know why that same condition does not exist for the millions being spent in Toronto, Montreal and other places. Isn't that right? Do you know what makes the prosperity of Ontario and Quebec? It is the prosperity of Western Canada.

The people of Western Canada want that road completed first, for the same reason that you got your T. & N. O.—because we have vast natural resources all along that right-of-way. One of the greatest copper mines on the American Continent is just being developed—the Flin Flon and the Manda mines—and there are other similar developments in the district. The Whitney people of New York have blocked out nearly $200,000,000 of ore in the Flin Flon. All along that country we have the great pre-Cambrian Range, just as you have in Ontario, and we know that we have copper, silver, lead, zinc and all kinds of minerals all through that country, and we want them developed, and we are going to have them developed whether you like it or not. Then at Spruce Rapids, on the Nelson River, we have 3,000,000 horse power developed, and it is estimated that 7,000,000 horse power can be developed on that river alone. All through that country we have pulp wood resources, 80,000,000 acres of the finest pulp wood on this continent are in Manitoba, and we expect to have the first 250-ton paper mill open this week. Two years ago the people did not know they had a cord of pulp wood there because the people in the East had propagated the gospel that there was no pulp wood in Manitoba.

The Nelson River runs out into Hudson Bay at a drop of 704 feet. Some people tell you that there is silt in the River Nelson. It is a lie. You cannot get a shovelful of mud or silt out of the bottom of the Nelson River. It is hard sand, solid rock, in the formation, just as it was 200 years ago and as it will be a thousand years from now. Toronto people have some interest in that; the Government of Canada put up $1,250,000 to build a dredge down here at the Polson Iron Works, and it was sent out to the Nelson River, but could not dredge a pail full of sand or mud there, so it has never turned a wheel. That is no joke, no propaganda; that is a fact. You can go there and see it in all its glorious mahogany trimmings. Actually the officers' quarters are lined with mahogany.

The channel of the Nelson River is 40 miles long, and at its narrowest point it is 1200 feet wide. At its shallowest point, over a distance of only 2¼ miles, it is 23 feet deep; the rest of it is anywhere from 30 to 100 feet deep. Your own St. Lawrence is only 1000 feet in its channel, and they have to spend millions all the time in keeping it clear for ships to come up to Montreal, and the West pays for part of that. Outside of the harbour, 40 miles, there is the greatest protection that any harbour ever had anywhere in the world. A great big, solid sand bar built up through the centuries, and inside of that ships can lie in perfect safety at all times and in the roughest storm. To-day you can see there a ship that has been inside of that sandbar since 1916, and it is as good in condition as it was then.

Then they talk to you about the Bay being frozen over. Absolutely ridiculous. Why, it is a great big ocean. Do you know that they have a tide there of 30 feet? Yet they say the Straits are frozen over. In all due respect, I believe that the Lord intended that the Hudson Straits and Hudson Bay should be a great transportation route for this country. Just take the mouth of the Straits, coming into it and going out into the Bay and you will see two of the most wonderful things towards that end. Coming in from the Atlantic you have the various Islands, Button and Chidley, that protect it from icebergs or ice-fields flowing in and out. On the west end you have islands that stretch from the shore of Baffin right across to Southampton Island, so that no ice-bergs or ice-fields of any kind could get out into the Straits in the form of fields that the people have told you about. There is just this: The ice comes down from the Mackenzie River through Coronation Gulf and down Fox Channel into the Bay, but before it gets down into Fox Channel the ice has gotten down to 3 or 4 feet at the thickest, for the reason that you can walk across the narrowest point across the mainland to Baffin, and that ice has to get down till it gradually reaches Fox Channel, and when it gets there it has to lie there until the sun and rain and winds blow it away, because it cannot flow through those islands out into the Straits as a field.

Now, it depends on two things. If you went up there some time in July you would see mountains of ice piled up on the right, on the north side of you, and you would believe a lot of stories. All that ice is simply rotten ice that has been blown one on top of another by the winds and tides, waiting for the sun and rain to take it away, and it depends on whether you get a north-east wind or a north-west wind where that ice goes out. North-east wind will take it down around the Bay, and you wonder how it could flow there—one of the most peculiar things in the world If you take your map of the Bay you will notice the lines of the rivers—Chesterfield, Churchill, Nelson, Hay or Albany, and your Abitibi come out into the Bay and form a current that goes right around the Bay, and that ice as it comes down and gets into that current floats around with the current and goes out through the Straits, and that is what gives you your late ice season in the Straits. Remember that it always goes out on the south side of the Straits. If you get a northwest wind the fury of that wind breaks up these mountains of rotten ice and forces it through those islands and rocks, and it always goes out on the north side of the Straits and is picked up by the Arctic current and comes in on the south side of the Straits. It pulls it around Big Island and out into the Atlantic Ocean. If the ice goes out on the north side it is an early season, but the south side is always perfectly free for shipping. If it goes out on the south side it means that the season is later, in the rotten ice going out. Those are very important factors that I know it is very hard for you to realize.

People tell you that it freezes over, but at no time, in the coldest winter, has that ever been known, or has less than a forty-mile clearance of ice been driven through the middle of those Straits. It is no good putting people on the shore lines to check up whether the ice is across the whole of the Straits or not, because it is very difficult to see more than 15 or 20 miles from the shore; but the middle course of the Straits is always open in winter on both the north and south sides. Naturally the bays and inlets freeze up. For 20 or 30 miles out from the shore lines at its narrowest point is 160 miles wide, 500 miles long, with a 30-foot tide in and out twice a day; and I will ask Pat Foley if he thinks that that could freeze up.

To solve the problem of navigation of the Straits in Hudson Bay is the simplest and easiest thing in the world. It is simply a matter of lighthouses and signal service and aerial reports such as you would get in the St. Lawrence. There is no danger at all to shipping because there are no impediments, and after you pass Port Barwell or Chidley or Boston Islands you can go right through to the other end of the Straits with no impediment whatever, in water of unknown depth. If I was going to bet I would say that Hudson Bay is safer in the winter time than in July and August. The idea of it being frozen up, and ice-bergs, and all that kind of tommy-rot is simply the same kind of propaganda that was used against the building of the C.P.R. in western Canada. Read your Toronto and Montreal papers away back at that time; they said that western Canada was a land only fit for buffaloes and Indians to live in. Why, there are men in this room to-day that were in Winnipeg thirty years ago and laughed at the optimism of the people in Winnipeg and the West, and came back to this wonderful City of Toronto and said they were all crazy out there.

The people in Eastern Ontario, particularly in the two great central provinces, boast that they pay 80% of the taxes of Canada; but who really pays them, or makes it possible for you to pay them? If you had only the revenues of Ontario and Quebec you would have to pay them all.

We are not asking for the development of the Hudson Bay route to-day or to morrow. We simply say that the west provided the money, and the road has been built up to mile 332 with the very finest road bed in Canada, with 80-pound steel rail, and from Kettle Rapids to Nelson, 91 miles, the roadbed is just waiting for the ties and rails. It will cost from three to four millions to finish that road to Fort Nelson, and money for that has been provided by the three provinces, and we are not asking the Government of the day to spend any money of yours or anybody else's. We want to develop the natural resources of Manitoba, and we are going to be an industrial province whether you like it or not. Our great mining resources are being gradually developed, and that railroad will help us solve that problem. There is no reason why we should not be able to take our products to all markets by the cheapest route. The prosperity of Western Canada is bound up with yours, and the more you stultify the development of Western Canada the harder it is going to be for you.

We want your moral co-operation. The people are going to develop Western Canada by the Hudson Bay route as a sea-route, and that development will come in proportion to that of Western Canada.

I imagine that you think all the immigration into Western Canada is to come via Montreal and Toronto along this cold and barren, rocky and timbered country of Quebec and Northern Ontario, making immigrants wonder whether there is any fertile farm soil in Canada. But just take the other picture: suppose the immigrants land at Fort Nelson at night; the next morning they are out in the middle of the prairies. The good old Hudson Bay Company, who have fought for over 250 years to prevent the development of Western and Northern Canada, have changed their policy, realizing that the western development will mean their success, and they are taking a very vital interest in the development of Port Nelson and the Hudson Bay route, and nobody knows better than they what that can do. They did not put up a new $3,000,000 building in Winnipeg just for to-day; they are building for the future.

Now, I want to say this—and this is where you proved unfair in Toronto, Montreal, New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Two years ago I organized a party to go out to Port Nelson, and we invited the Mayor of Toronto, the Council, the Board of Trade and their members, the Rotary and Kiwanis and all the other clubs of Toronto, and not one cared a darn about it, and never answered my letters. The same thing occurred in Montreal, and all over eastern Canada; and I bring that home to you because if you won't do something to find that it is true you have no right to condemn anything. But you will all want to get on the band wagon when my party goes there this year, and I am going to be at the throttle of the first engine that takes that party into Port Nelson. I guarantee that we won't be able to take care of all the Toronto people that will want to go—after it is accomplished.

I want you to realize that it is statesmanship we want in this country, and a whole lot less of politics.

I say more to you—that the people of the Maritimes and of Western Canada are going to play the game, and your two provinces here are going to be squeezed by the rest of the people of Canada unless you play the game. I bring that serious message because you have not played the game in connection with this great problem of ours. Gentlemen, whether you want to go ahead or not, is it not in the best interests of Canada to have the east and the west working together, playing the game by each other?

The Lord knows that the Liberals and Conservatives at Ottawa for fifty years have spent the taxpayers' money on foolish things for the sake of politics; and admitting that it is a fool thing, as they would like to make out, in the interests of Canada as a whole, it is well to bring that transaction to an immediate conclusion—even if you have a way of saying to the West, "We told you so," you can do this, because it never cost you a cent. If western Canada, who pays for this, is in a few years able to say to you, "We told you so," you must take it with a smile. That is the spirit that we want in this country from coast to coast.

I know that your President is in the insurance business, and he will say that the cost of insurance will kill this scheme; but I will say to him that we have no fear about that; that that problem will solve itself in time, just as the Port of Montreal has been saved by persistent effort.

We find our greatest obstruction to the Hudson Bay Railway through propaganda coming from New York, if you please. What has New York got to do with us? For the same reason they are fighting the deepening of the St. Lawrence route, and the same fight is going on against the ship canal down to Niagara so that there won't be anything go out via the St. Lawrence route. We are interested in the Deep Waterways and in the St. Lawrence route as much as you are, for we have to solve our common transportation problems in Canada. Some of your industries may have to move out of Toronto and into Manitoba, but that is all right. You should be ashamed of yourselves in Ontario, the greatest Province of Canada, to sit here all by yourselves with a paltry population of 2,000,000 people when you ought to have 50,000,000. You have to depend on western Canada as a market for the output of your factories. I think if I lived in Ontario I would go over to the Old Country and say, "Here, you have 5,000,000 out of work; we want these 5,000,000 people in Ontario, where we have everything that the Lord intended." Our problem in Canada is immigration, and its solution lies with every one of us.

In 1914, all over Canada, you said to the boys, "You have got to go; your King and your Country need you; and when you come back we will kiss you, and nothing will be too good for you"; and we repeated the words of Lloyd George, "We will make Canada a country fit for heroes to live in." Didn't you? Deny it if you can; but have you done it? 76,000 of our returned men are in the United States to-day trying to make a living—our boys who went over and fought battles for Canada and the Empire—because you have not played the game. 501,000 red-blooded, native-born, educated Canadians have in the past six years gone to the United States to make a living. 300,000 others who have come to this country either before or since have also gone to the United States in the same period, making a total of over 800,000 who have gone to the United States to make a living. And then you talk about immigration. Solve the problem of Canadian migration first, and you will solve the problem of immigration. It is no good bringing the people here if you are going to keep our own sons and daughters out. How are you going to solve it? I'll tell you one way. Look at your boots, at your clothes, your ties, your collars, your hats, your overcoats. Go home to your wife and see where she gets her dresses and stockings and boots. Go into your pantries and find out where all the stuff comes from that you ate yesterday, and what you are going to eat to-day. Don't you owe a debt? If every Canadian of this country looked first to the building up of our own land, in justice to Canada, you would solve the problem of migration of our people.

Every time you go into a store to buy something—I don't care about the wholesaler and jobbers of Canada; if they have not got the backbone to support Canadian industries, let us start some new ones who will—once you can stop the buying of foreign goods you will have no problem; that is the very reason why our people have gone to the United States during the last eight years. You should have 800,000 people a year coming into Canada. When we are prosperous they will come.

It is a shame and disgrace to any Government in Canada to think that we could not harvest that magnificent bumper crop in the west because we could not get labour, and it had to stay out in the fields and suffer from heat and wet and frost; and you wonder why conditions are not 100% in your factories in Toronto.

I thank you for listening to me. I am very sorry if I have hurt anybody; if I did, it is only because it is the truth, and you don't like it. Let me wind up by saying that it is statesmanship that we want in this country from coast to coast—and the first principle of that is for Ontario and Quebec to remember that there are other parts of this Dominion than theirs, and if you want our co-operation, we are going to have yours. If not, you cannot blame people in western Canada for talking some very plain English once in a while. You talk about secession. There is no talk of it in the West. There is more talk about secession in Toronto than any place in Canada. Take up your newspapers and see it, but we have not secession talk out there. But you cannot blame the people out there for getting mad once in a while and saying what they think. If you don't believe it, come out and see. We are just as British and just as loyal as you are.

JULIEN FERGUSON, M.C., voiced the hearty thanks of the Club for the address.

CANADA'S PROBLEM OF EQUALITY WITH GREAT BRITAIN

ADDRESS BY PROF. GEORGE M. WRONG, M.A.,
LL.D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,
Thursday, December 9, 1926.

THE PRESIDENT introduced the speaker.

PROFESSOR WRONG

Mr. President and gentlemen, it is rather by pressure of circumstances that I have had to go into the problem on which I am to speak to you, and I have arrived at certain conclusions which you may or may not accept. Let me say at once that the recent Conference in London has not altered anything; it has simply revealed a state of mind—a most satisfactory state of mind—and when the representatives of the different parts of the Empier came together in London it was found that, in spite of rumblings about disagreements, they in effect agreed on all the main problems.

Sometimes in this country I hear the idea expressed that Great Britain has been standing in the way of the development of equality in respect of Canada. I think that has no truth in it at all. I think that Great Britain has only been waiting for the other parts of the Empire, and perhaps particularly for Canada, to fully make up her mind what she wants in order to fit in with that state of mind and to reach some common understanding. I think that the Conference in London is particularly valuable because it does reveal a state of mind. It has made no change; the Conference had no authority to make any change, but it has revealed a state of union spread all over the British Empire which seems to me to be very promising for the future.

I went last January to England, and some of my friends there knew I was going over, and they asked me to be prepared in April of this year to put before the Royal Institute of International Affairs the opinions that I had formed in respect to nationalism in Canada. I had some time to think about it, and on the 20th April of this year I expressed there my views, and if you wish to find those opinions in a more coherent form than I may give them to you now you will find them printed in the July number of the Journal of that Institute.

The problem in respect of Canada is not remotely related to any question of Canada passing out of the British Empire. Stray travellers, an occasional Bishop, sometimes a Dean, or sometimes people not as exalted as these, will come here and talk to perhaps a dozen people and go away and tell what wonderful things are going to happen in respect of Canada. I suspect that one of those gentlemen who went back to England and said that Canada was going to become a French country was perfectly surprised when he landed at Quebec and Montreal and found that some people were speaking French. I presume he had not known that before, and that he was quite astounded that the French language should be used in Canada.

There is no more danger of this country becoming other than a British country and being pro-British in its thought than there is of this country joining the United States. Let us stop talking about that, because it is quite beyond the range of possibility. It has not happened in history that a nation of nine million people should be attached to and absorbed by another nation. Whatever destiny this country has, it is to be on the lines of its past development, and I see no prospect of any violent change in those lines of development.

Now, I am to talk to you about equality, and I have two kinds of equality in my mind. There is equality of privilege, of which I am to speak mainly; there is also the equality of responsibility, of which I shall also speak. At the present moment equality does not exist between Canada and Great Britain. It is hoped for and talked of, but it does not exist. One only needs to point out three or four things to show that there is not equality.

For instance, the British Parliament can change the constitution of Great Britain at will. The Canadian Parliament cannot change the constitution of Canada without having it endorsed by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Equality would mean that Great Britain could not change its constitution unless we passed an Act, just as we cannot change our constitution unless they should pass an Act. Then the Parliament of Great Britain has extra-territorial authority, and it follows that it has authority over all British citizens in all parts of the world. Canada has not that extra-territorial authority, and cannot follow citizens beyond the borders of Canada. So in that respect there is no equality between Canada and Great Britain.

Then take the office of the Governor-General, who is sent here, and who is someone agreeable to the Government of Canada, but who is sent as a representative of the King, named on the recommendation of Great Britain. When the Governor-General is in Canada he is not merely the head of the State as representing the Sovereign, but he is also the official agent of the British Government, and reports to the British Government as such; so he is here in a dual capacity—as the representative of the King, and also as a commissioner from the Government of Great Britain. If there were equality, and we had the same thing in respect of Great Britain, our High Commissioner in London would be discharging also the functions of King George, but I fancy I need not mention to you that he does not discharge such functions.

Now, when a nation that has attained to a state of development that leads it to aspire to be self-governing—some nations apparently never reach that stage—there is no halting place on the way until it reaches the final complete goal. If the political history of the last hundred years teaches anything it teaches that. Canada was a conquered country, conquered from another nation, and unlike Australia and New Zealand; and inevitably it was governed for a time by military officers, and for some thirty years had no representative institutions at all; and even after Canada had secured such institutions the military officer, who is usually the governor, had executive forces in his hands. There was restiveness, and in the end there was change. Each time there was change some thought that finality had been reached. For instance, Lord Durham, who played such a large part in the constitutional development of this country, had an idea that Canada should not have control of her external trade or of her crown lands, that she should not be able to change her own constitution and that her foreign relations should be in the hands of Great Britain. In those days that was regarded as the last word in the possible development of constitutional liberty in this country. We smile now to think that matters could have stopped at that, but old-fashioned constitutionalists were saying only two years ago that Canada should not make a treaty with a foreign power unless on the recommendation of the ministry in Great Britain to the King. That problem was solved simply by doing it, by making a treaty, and during the last year Canada has made more than one treaty with the United States in her own name. So let me go back to what I said—that there is no halting place in respect of eventual development when you have a people who have real aspirations towards that thing.

To-day the constitution is substantially this—that there is no single executive authority for the whole British Empire. The Government of the British Empire is divided up among various units, each acting on its own authority; there is no single legislative authority for the Empire. In law there is: the British Parliament has supreme legislative authority over the whole Empire, but in practice there is no single such authority; there is no single treaty-making power in the Empire. Not so long ago there was; to-day treaties are made in the name of Great Britain. A country like Canada is exempt from the operation of a treaty until it may choose itself to act apart. So we have no single treaty-making power over the Empire. The one central authority that remains is the one of which I shall speak in a moment, There is one authority in the British Empire for making war and concluding peace, and that authority is the Government of Great Britain.

We have all found, in our individual lives, that changes come very rapidly. We who are growing elderly look around and realize that the boy of 20 years ago, to whom perhaps we lectured as a student, and who seemed a boy, is to-day a man taking an important part in affairs. We live in a world that is always changing. We may regret it, and sigh for the good old days, but it is the lot of human life that change is incessantly taking place, and it seems to me that change is becoming more rapid as the world grows older, and human invention becomes more expert. We cannot imagine that the English village of 1600 was greatly different from that two centuries later, but rural England to-day is in large measure utterly unlike that of a hundred years ago.

A great English constitutional writer, Bagehot, in 1872, in the introduction to his studies on the English Constitution, remarked, "No stone is left of the Palmerston Building." Palmerston, the Prime Minister, died in 1865, and one of the most penetrating minds in England in respect of political development said that not a stone was left of the Palmerston Building. That shows how rapid the change was. In the meantime the Reform Bill of 1867 had been passed, which greatly extended the franchise, and it swept away the Palmerston edifice.

Similarly, in our political development astounding changes have taken place. Our British political system, including our law courts, is based upon the idea that the King rules. If any of you gentlemen are unfortunate enough to be put in jail—which I hope will not occur—it is the King who is going to put you there; you are going to be tried by the King, and the King will punish you. The King is the central figure in our political and legal life, and in time past the King actually carried on the Government. The result is that our political institutions to-day express in words that idea. The King does everything. But we all know that what has happened is that the authority of the King has been handed over to the representatives of the people, but the King can still do surprising things, in fact, as Mr. Bagehot said, "The King could dismiss every officer in the Army and in the Navy; the King could declare war and make peace without reference to Parliament; the King could cede London to a foreign power on the strength of his own prerogative." Gentlemen here who are lawyers know that the King's acts would hold in law, but I do not think there is any danger of the King doing anything of that kind. Quite the contrary.

We all know that the powers of the King have passed over to the representatives of the people in Parliament. Sometimes, in spite of knowing that, we speak of the King as if he not only reigned but governed. Now, the King reigns, but he does not govern. It is Parliament that governs. The King has no policy; the King does not even choose his ministers. Bagehot went so far as to say that the King has lost the power of veto, and that if both houses of Parliament passed a bill of attainder sentencing the King to death the King would have to sign the bill. I think there would be some way for the King getting out of it—but that is the position of the King. The point is that political authority has passed from the sovereign to the masses of the people, and in our constitutional system the King performs the most necessary functions in many ways. It is through our being under the monarchy that the British Empire holds together—but the King does not govern; it is the people who make governments.

Now, here is the problem with which we are confronted in Canada. In Great Britain the people make governments, and the people, speaking broadly, are plain, simple men who work with their hands. England has become a democracy. We, too, are a democracy. I suppose that the electorate in Canada is, on the whole—there are exceptions—as intelligent as the electorate of any other country in the world. Now, the problem is, shall the democracy in England decide the destiny of this country, decide questions of war and peace, for nstance, or shall the democracy in Canada decide these things for themselves? A very serious question, you will see, a most important question, but a question that we have to face, and it does not do to shirk.

I regret to have to point out that efforts at the organic union of the British Empire have failed. I myself would have liked to see certain proposals of the people who were associated with the Round-table movement carried out. I personally was ready to see created a central body for the whole British Empire, in whose hands should be placed foreign affairs and destinies. At one time I had a vague hope that such a body might be created. I do not think many serious people to-day still entertain that hope. Efforts were made to create a federated British Empire. Some forty years ago that was much talked of, but it is not seriously discussed at the present.

A few years ago we had another phase that was not remotely related to organic union, when we talked of co-operative diplomacy; or representatives of Canada and Great Britain, and other parts of the Empire, by consultation and agreement, determining the foreign policy of the British Empire. I regret to say that that phase of development has also broken down. The Locarno Treaty was signed by Great Britain alone, and by common consent the other parts of the British Empire are not to have part in what may prove to have been the most beneficent of all the treaties made during the last ten years.

So organic union has not been within the range of possibility, and the question is on what lines are we going to try to ensure the future unity of the British people. With some reluctance I have come to certain conclusions, and I dare say that most of you now will be in substantial agreement with them, though I do not believe that would have been the case a few years ago.

My general conclusion is that the nest step in development for Canada is to fully complete its national life, and we must leave Australia and South Africa to take care of themselves, as they are quite competent to do.

Nationalism is much talked of in our time, and sometimes I think has proved very mischievous. There is a kind of nationalism that becomes aggressive and sensitive, that goes about with a chip on its shoulder; but I think that our sound judgment will conclude that on the whole nationalism has played a fine part in history. Would Scotland have been better, or worse, had she not developed a national spirit that gloried in the victory at Bannockburn—a victory that has come ringing down through all the intervening centuries? Would England be less or greater if she had not developed that sense of the dignity of the Englishman and the dignity of the English nation which plays so large a part in its literature? Would France be better or worse if the Frenchman had not believed that the sun shone with a rather special radiance in France, and that France has given to the world a civilization unequalled by that of any other nation? Perhaps there is some slight exaggeration of nationalism there, but I think on the whole one may claim that a strong national sentiment has tended to be a beneficent influence in the life of the nations.

Mr. President, I hazard this conjecture—not a statement—that if Germany had developed in the course of the centuries a real national sentiment we probably should not have had the crisis of the great war. What Germany lacked was a steady growth of a sense of unity among the German peoples. Frederick the Great, the leader of Prussia, in the last century spurned the idea of German nationalism. The German nation was created by force of arms, not by the growth of national spirit, and it was the decaying sense of nationalism that led Germany into the great War. So that I think we may claim that a strong national feeling is probably a wholesome influence in the life of a nation.

And now, Mr. President, I am going to say some shocking things to you, because I have come to the point when you ought to be shocked. Our forefathers carried the bill to London that became the British North America Act, and is our constitution now, incorporating in that bill the title for Canada, the Kingdom of Canada.

Now, frankly, I have never liked the title Dominion of Canada. Most of you know why "Dominion" was inserted; the not very far-seeing Colonial Secretary of that time thought that the United States, being a Republic, would be sensitive just after the civil war and might not like to have a kingdom on their northern frontier; and so the word "Kingdom" was changed to a word that I think is nondescript, implying inferiority of status.

My first point is that I would change the name from the Dominion of Canada to the Kingdom of Canada, and in that imply full equality of status with Great Britain. That does not shock you nearly as much as I thought it would—so I will try to do better on my next.

I would have Canada, in some way or other—lawyers would have to determine how—make the declaration that the Parliament of Canada has over Canada and Canadians the same authority that the Parliament of Great Britain has over the people of Great Britain. That may sound to you very innocent, but it is not nearly as innocent as it looks. It means that Canada would take over the power to change her own constitution. That is a point on which we hear occasional discussion. Most of it seems to me extremely ill-informed. It is said that if Canada takes over such powers the special interests of the French in Canada would be endangered. I do not know the particular brand of political lunatic who is going to try to take away from the French in Canada any of the rights they possess, but if there are any people of that kind here I suppose we have lunatic asylums enough to contain them. Nobody who has any sense at all talks of doing anything that will in any way modify the liberties and position of the French in Canada. The argument is that the French are protected in some way in their privileges because we cannot change the constitution of Canada without going to London—which is an actual legal fact. If a majority of the people of Canada want its constitution to be changed, are the people of London going to sit down on a hornet's nest by rejecting the will of the majority in Canada for the sake of the minority? They are not quite as foolish as that. In my judgment the French have no protection whatever in the present provision which involves going to London for an Act. Their protection is in the inherent justice of their position, and in their real political power They count 130 on a division in Parliament, and if that is not enough protection I cannot imagine any other protection than the justice of their position that would be effective.

My third proposal is what is involved in the other—that if Canada becomes a real sovereign power she must herself determine on questions of war and peace. The democracy of Canada must themselves take the responsibility of deciding those questions. Further, we must notify foreign countries of our position; foreign countries must know where we stand. There has been a little sensitiveness in Canada because of the attitude of the United States, which did not invite a Canadian delegate to sit in the Washington Conference, and which has refused thus far to send a minister or ambassador to Ottawa. The United States does not know where we stand yet. I do not think our national life will be complete until we receive at Ottawa representatives from foreign countries, just as the foreign countries receive our representatives. But we shall have to make clear to the world where we stand, and I think that Canada should take these steps of notifying foreign countries that she has assumed a full national life and is at peace or war by her own act.

Now I want to exercise your imagination for a short time. Call up what is meant by some things I have said. If Canada is not at war when Great Britain is at war, then Canada will be neutral. Foreign nations will not recognize our standing as a nation unless we assume the full responsibility to decide for ourselves on questions of war and peace. Now, as a neutral nation we shall have to give to the enemies of Great Britain in our seaports exactly the same privileges that we give to Great Britain herself. We should not be able to allow British troops to cross our territory. A Canadian insurance company doing business in Berlin would not have its property seized by the state, while a British insurance company would. A Canadian is not quite sure whether he is English or Canadian. I have a son living in England, and I do not think he quite knows whether he is an Englishman or a Canadian, and I hope he will never find out. But if he had been in Berlin when war took place he would have had to inform the German government whether he was an Englishman or a Canadian; if English, he would have been interned; if Canadian, he would not have been.

And let us use our imaginations to realize what we are talking about when we talk of assuming to decide on war or peace. As I have said that there is no halting-place in the advance of a nation to full national life, I want to add that I think there is no halting-place there, at any rate, on the part of Canada in moving towards a close union with Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire. I do not believe that the people of this country would for a moment tolerate the idea of remaining neutral if their neutrality in war meant any advantage to the enemies of Great Britain.

Furthermore, those declarations that have been made in London, which may become legal in due course, do not reach the final goal so far as we are concerned; and the next problem that we shall have to consider in Canada is what kind of union and co-operation and understanding this country is going to have with Great Britain for the well-being of the British Empire as a whole. If we are a full nation, and are not pledged to help Great Britain in her time of need, Great Britain is also a full nation, and is not pledged to help Canada in her time of need. The thing always works both ways.

Now, just one last word. I have been talking a great deal about equality of privileges. Just let me say a word or two about equality of responsibility. I think perhaps most of us have not yet realized the change in the spirit of the world that the creation of the League of Nations is going to effect. I fear we are still thinking—and probably necessarily thinking—in the terms of equipment for war, and for a moment it is not wise to stop thinking in that way; but I think that the development of the next ten or fifteen years is going to make the question of co-operation and unity with Great Britain displace that preparation for war in case of need, and rather towards co-operation in those things that make for the betterment of mankind.

I doubt if many of us realize the part that Great Britain is playing in the world—and in this respect we are not her partners. Last summer I had the opportunity of understanding a little of what Great Britain is doing in respect of Africa—some glimpse into the multitudinous agencies that centre in Great Britain for the betterment of the backward peoples in that great continent—a work that we hardly touch. One gets glimpses, too, of what Great Britain is doing in India. In spite of discontent in India, one realizes what a mighty force for well-being and security of the people in India is the British work for that land. I venture to say that Great Britain is doing more on the continent of Europe than any other nation to bring together and reconcile the harsh difference on that distracted continent. But all that does not by any means exhaust what Great Britain is doing in the world. With her world-wide trade interests have gone on a world-wide desire to bring some benefit to the peoples with thom she comes into contact.

Now, that touches equality of responsibility. As yet we are very remote and isolated here, naturally so; but as our opportunity expands, as the range of our interests becomes wider, I am quite sure that in Canada we shall talk perhaps not less about equality of privilege, but perhaps more about equality of responsibility. The finest thing in the life of a nation is that it shall use its power for the benefit not only of itself but of other peoples. That is the true nobility, and in respect of that nobility we have a fine example in the country to which we are all attached.

THE PRESIDENT thanked PROFESSOR WRONG for his address.

ADDRESS TO WINNIPEG UNIT

AN ADDRESS BY COLONEL A. E. KIRKPATRICK

Before the Empire Club of Canada, Winnipeg Unit, October 26, 1926.

The Empire Club of Canada was founded in Toronto in 1903, and its growth, while at first was slow, was sure, with a steady increase in membership from year to year. The Club adopted as its motto, the words, "Canada and a United Empire," which motto, in itself denotes in the fewest possible words the aims and objects of the organization.

During the years that have passed since then, many men of note have directed its affairs, and I naturally felt great pride when the honour came to me at the beginning of 1926, of being chosen as its directing head for the ensuing year.

I am also extremely happy that in Winnipeg—the great city of the rolling plains of Western Canada—there should have been established this year, a branch of this organization, where a worthy band of loyal men have banded themselves together in the splendid work of holding Canada as an integral part of the British Empire. Winnipeg's future is wrapt up in the development of our Western plains, and anyone who has crossed these plains from East to West and from West to East can understand the astonishment with which travellers from other lands view with wonder what has been accomplished. And when one for days and nights traverses these almost boundless fertile plains and notes the types of peoples—scattered sparsely as yet throughout the land—splendid young men, young women and children, one can well understand the enthusiasm of the famous English baby specialist, Prof. Saleeby, who, after careful observation, has stated that the pure air and the environment of the wide open places is producing physical types— and with it will produce in natural course of time, mental types—which will furnish a manhood and a womanhood probably the best the world has ever produced.

Chancellor Brown of Christchurch University, New Zealand, a recent visitor to Canada, and a famous anthropologist, goes so far as to say that even as to-day the Northern States dominate intellectually and physically the Southern States, so in course of time will the stern but matchless climate of Canada develop such a hearty type of manhood, such a strong type of national character that it inevitably predestines Canada and her people to the dominating position of this Continent in a measurable period of time.

No one can definitely state how many of our young men and women have emigrated from Canada to the United States in the last few years, but certain it is that we have lost many more than we should have, and, for years past, the question has been asked repeatedly by people in all parts of Canada—why is it that these young people have been willing to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage? Is it not possible that there may be something wrong with our educational system? Is it not possible that we are taking our loyalty and love of the soil too much for granted? Is it not possible that in a new country such as this, direct, determined and continuous effort should be carried on from the child's youngest days to instill into him love of the country, love of our history and traditions, and so root them to the soil of Canada that they would prefer to stay here at almost any cost in order to assist in building up this country.

Think of what Canada would be to-day, if we had even three-quarters of the men and women who have left Canada for the United States alone, still here in Canada working to develop this country. I have questioned many young people, among them some new Canadians, who came here as children and received their education here and them emigrated to the United States, and the opinion I have formed is, that there is a decided weakness in our educational system and that they are not taught patriotism and love of country, to anything like the extent that they should be. Of course, that is only my opinion—it may be wrong—but there is not the slightest reason in the world why we should not find out, and I would suggest that the Prime Minister of each Province in Canada form a Commission representing the church, agriculture, business and finance, with probably an able young lawyer as Secretary, and immediately proceed to get in touch with expatriated Canadians of all ages from youth to past middle age—secure their present addresses—get into correspondence with them and send them a questionaire, asking their advice and opinion as to what the guiding motives were, which prompted them to leave the country and their advice as to the cure. Such a Commission could prepare a questionnaire, which would bring out very pertinent answers as to matters of youthful education and patriotism—what they have gained by their change of residence—what they have lost—and how they could be attracted to return to Canada, which needs them. Has their progress socially, physically and financially, been such as to warrant the loss to them and to their children and their children's children, of their Canadian and Imperial nationality. Let us at least endeavour to find out scientifically, as I believe, undoubtedly, it is possible, what are the causes, what are the difficulties—and then take determined steps to administer the correct remedies.

In recent months, there has been a great deal of debating in all parts of the Empire regarding the future of the Commonwealth, especially on the subject of interrelationship between the different component parts and as to their dealings with international affairs. One result of this discussion and interchange of views brings a welcome note very much to the forefront in that the majority of sentiment in all parts of the Commonwealth is just as convinced to-day as ever before, or as it was during the war—that the Empire as an organism is of immense value to the peoples which compose it. It is a prime factor for peace, order and freedom in the whole world and its dissolution would benefit neither its members nor the world at large.

This discussion has made it perfectly plain that our Dominion reserves the right to its own Parliament to decide its action on international affairs. There are —and must be—differences of opinion between Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand and other parts of the Empire on points of a special interest to each, but there is one fundamental thought which seems everywhere to be paramount, and that is, that the various Parliaments of the Commonwealth only can speak effectively or bind the nations which elect them.

Parliament in Canada, as also in the other nations of the Empire, is simply the reflection or interpretation of the thoughts of the mass of the electors of the nations. Public opinion expresses its concentrated beliefs and desired actions in regard to public affairs, on the floor of the House, and it is there that public opinion resolves itself into action—into legislation—which works for the weal or woe of our country's future.

There have been in the past—there are still—there probably always will be—malign subversive influences at work, which have sought—still endeavour—and will continue to seek to disrupt the Empire in the endeavour to guide Canada toward other destinies than the great one mapped out for us by our forefathers and still faithfully followed, I believe, by the bulk of the best thinking minds in our land. This is only one of many reasons why the formation of Empire Clubs throughout Canada—and indeed throughout the Empire—is a very vital need of the day.

"In union there is strength" is an indisputable maxim, and in the united efforts of our Empire and of our Commonwealth of nations acting together, I see wonderful potentialities. There are vast possiblities and great rewards to be gained of both a spiritual and a material nature.

FIRST: In religion—fully one half of the people in the world have not yet had the Gospel of Christ brought to them. His words were plain, direct—"Go ye, into all the world and preach the Gospel to all people." I think I am right in my conviction that the Mother country and her children have at least excelled the rest of the world combined in the effort to carry out that command, and has been and will be blessed accordingly. Joint effort will far surpass individual and scattered effort in this regard.

SECOND: Taken individually, the different parts of the Empire—working for themselves and for the whole have accomplished tremendous things. England gave the world transportation and penny postage—Canada gave the telephone and hydro electric development—India, Africa and Canada the science of Government of mixed races and creeds—and each section of the Empire is rapidly unveiling different mysteries of science—each year disseminated throughout the Empire by the British Association.

THIRD: The constant interchange of the thoughts of the best medical men of the Empire coupled with post graduate work in the old land in medicine and surgery and the extremely high ethical standard of the medical men of the Empire form a united front engaged in the task of combating diseases and helping the world at large.

FOURTH: Civilizing influence—In liberty of conscience, in liberty of speech, in liberty of person, in the freeing of the slaves, in the suppression of the slave trade, in which the Motherland has always stood in the forefront, and which in her children has produced a more powerful love of liberty and through their efforts a greater spirit of civilization—we find that under our flag there is a higher respect of law and order than under any other flag that has flown.

FIFTH: Speaking of more material things—the British Empire contains within itself almost every known or required material, food, and every necessity for development that it requires. It embraces a larger part of the world's surface and more variety in climate, and is richer in resources and products, with a larger aggregate population than any other economic unit that could be created. Even if the Empire were entirely cut off from the rest of the world, we, within the Empire, could still be independent, as we have potentialities to serve generations for centuries. Much progress has already been made in Empire preference, but does anyone believe that the full potential value of the unity of Empire has been reached or even approached? Those who think in terms of Empire know that trade possibilities within the Empire are only in their infancy and should ultimately develop to an enormous proportion, bringing great wealth to the peoples who compose it.

SIXTH: Strength—It needs but a few words on this important point, the facts are so entirely self-evident that the old saying "United we stand, divided we fall" never had greater significance than with us. Wherever a Canadian, Australian, South African, New Zealander, Irishman, or whatever he might be, may go, he is a British subject entitled to that respect that a Britisher is expected to receive anywhere, protected by the full force of the armed power of the British Empire on land and sea—something tangible, definite and great, which brings a thrill of pride to each one of us almost daily on our travels abroad.

Meeting as I do, in my frequent trips across this Continent, travelers from various parts of the Empire I am struck with the feeling of "at homeness" that people of the old land, sister dominions and colonies, feel here. And, in our travels abroad, you and I have felt the same feeling, in other parts of the Empire—a feeling of "at homeness."

Is it not something of capital importance in the life of a British subject to be able to travel for countless thousands of miles throughout the length and breadth of the world, to find in greater or lesser superficial area —here—there—everywhere—from the wideflung spaces of the great dominions to the smallest island colony— havens of rest, where above his head flies the Union Jack, the emblem of liberty—where British law and power protects and where he can proudly say "I am a citizen of the Empire, a sharer in the glories of the past, a partner and participant in its civilizing influence of to-day, and one of the progenitors of that greater work for the betterment of mankind, the improvement of our civilization," and we hopefully believe one of the greatest of forces for the peace of the future.

We, in the Empire Club, have a great work to do. We create a platform for the dissemination through our addresses, in volume or pamphlet form or through the Press which is far more important—a proper realization of our aspirations, obligations, duties and privileges. We all know the enormous power of propaganda. Can there be any finer propaganda than this: "Canada and a United Empire."

To the men of Winnipeg, I say—even if you cannot be a regular attendant, even if you belong to other organizations—membership in this Club adds a little to our strength, widens our field of endeavour and helps just a little to pay the great debt we owe our ancestors who builded better than they knew. Sir James Craig said, "After middle age, men are apt to look back with regret for lost opportunities for doing good." Members of the Empire Club—we will never regret in later years the time or money spent in the endeavour to keep firm and strong the foundations of the Empire, in helping to hand on to our children, untarnished and intact, the treasure we have inherited.

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Empire Club of Canada was held in the King Edward Hotel, Thursday, January 13th, 1927.

After a few preliminary remarks by the President, the Secretary-Treasurer presented his report as follows:

The past year may well be classified as a "Consolidation Year." During 1926 changes necessitated by changing circumstances were made and have become part of the Club's organization. For example, sound business judgment actuating the Year Book Committee led to an able and exhaustive report by its Chairman, Mr. G. R. Munnoch, on the relation of Year Book cost to the general financing of the Club. As a result the fee was increased from Three to Four Dollars for Resident Members and from Two to Three Dollars for Non-Resident Members, to include a copy of the Year Book. The Club will be gratified to know that this change has been carried through with little objection and no inconvenience. The way the members have adopted this change as a matter of course indicates the spirit of co-operation which prevails between the Club as a whole and the Executive.

Another example of the increasing interest the general membership is taking in the activities of the Club is shown by the number who responded to the President's appeal for new members. We always have a certain number who move away or for some other reason discontinue their membership. The past year was no exception and yet we increased our membership sufficient to make up for these and added in addition over one hundred to our lists.

A sturdy and promising unit of the Club was established last June at Winnipeg under the able presidency of Colonel J. E. Hansford, supported by a very keen secretary-treasurer, P. G. Leaney, and an executive of distinction, including:—

Sir James Aikins, K.C., LL.D., Hon. President.
Colonel R. H. Webb, D.S.O., M.C., Hon. Vice-President.
Chief Justice Mathers, First Vice-President.
T. E. Anderson, K.C., Second Vice-President.
Very Reverend Canon Bartel Heaney, Third Vice-President.
Chaplain, His Grace Archbishop Matheson.
W. J. Tupper, K.C.
Professor W. F. Osborne.
Major C. W. O'Lane.
A. F. Hardy, Esq.
J. V. Harrison, Esq.
Colonel J. Y. Reid.
W. T. Spencer, Esq.
H. D. Goderham, Esq.
Rev. J. A. Ralston.
Alexander T. McIntosh, Esq.
C. F. Greene, Esq.
Lieutenant-Colonel J. Lightfoot.
Colonel G. R. Pearkes, V.C.
Dr. V. G. Williams.
C. A. Hill, Esq.

During the summer your Secretary was able to visit the Winnipeg Club, while later in the Fall, Colonel Kirkpatrick was also there and we are agreed in feeling that the enthusiasm of the new organization should be a source of real strength to the cause of Empire in the West.

The Year Book is going to press immediately after this meeting and will be ready for distribution by the end of March.

The accounts for the year have been audited by Mr. H. T. Jamieson, C.A., and the following statement passed upon by the executive:

STATEMENT FOR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1926.

RECEIPTS

Balance brought forward, 1st January, 1926			$111,97
Income:			
Annual fees:			
Resident	$3,894.00		
Non-resident	76.00		
1927 fees paid in advance	6.00		
Life Membership	50.00		
		4,026.00	
Interest on Bank Accounts		24.90	
Sale of Year Book		312.00	
Miscellaneous		16.00	
			4,378.90
			$4,490.87

PAYMENTS

Printing and Stationery		$1,832.20	
Salaries		1,200.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		109.44	
Office Expense		73.04	
Travelling, guests and luncheons		836.78	
Reporting		234.50	
Special donations and miscellaneous	$285.00		
Less amounts subscribed	221.00		
		64.00	
			4,349.96
Cash on Hand, 31st December, 1926			$4,140.91

Accounts Payable. — $65.97.

We have audited the cash account of the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, for the year ended 31st December, 1926, and we hereby certify that the attached statement of Receipts and Payments is correct according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the books and records of the Club as at 31st December, 1926.

Reported by,

"H. T. JAMIESON & COMPANY,"
Chartered Accountants,
Honourary Auditors.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The report of the Nominating Committee was then submitted and upon motion by W. J. Darby, seconded by E. J. Hathaway, the following were adopted as the Executive of the Club for the year 1927:

Colonel Alexander Fraser, LL.D., President.
Robert Fennell, First Vice-President.
Colonel Henry Brock, Second Vice-President.
C. A. C. Jennings, Third Vice-President.
H. G. Stapells, M.A., Secretary-Treasurer.
Captain J. S. Atkinson.
R. P. Baker.
Major T. Crawford Brown.
W. J. Darby.
K. J. Dunstan.
Hugh S. Eayrs.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
F. H. Gooch.
E. J. Hathaway.
Horace Hunter.
H. T. Jamieson.
Colonel Baptist Johnston.
Harold Muntz.
Lt.-Colonel Seth Pepler, M.C.
Colonel C. W. Rowley.
Charles V. Syrett.
Ellis H. Wilkinson.

It was announced that the Past Presidents had elected Mr. William Brooks, Dr. R. N. Burns and Dr. D. J. Goggin as their representatives on the Executive Committee.

The persons above named, together with the immediate Past President, Colonel A. E. Kirkpatrick, constitutes the governing body of the Club for 1927.

Colonel Kirkpatrick, before installing the new President, said:—I do not know when I relinquished a position with such regret as I do that of President of the Empire Club, one of the most honorable positions that has come my way in my life. The work for the past year has been difficult in many ways, but we have certainly made progress. The development of the Branch at Winnipeg is a very gratifying point to me personally, and I am sure it is to you also. I think it is our duty as an Empire Club not to rest satisfied until we have established a branch, be it large or small, at every important point in Canada. That can be accomplished by a large membership, and when that has been secured and receipts are sufficient to engage a travelling secretary, I am confident that with select, strong, determined men from among the better class of people in all parts of the Dominion of Canada, such branches will form such a force of public opinion that should there arise any difficult situations producing agitation inimical to Canada or to the whole British Commonwealth or Empire at large, those men will stand up and knock it on the head. Such organizations can prevent and could have prevented many catastrophes. I have spoken to many Russians—nobles, officers and others— and they tell me that if they had had any organization in Russia for the distinct purpose of maintaining the stability of the country, what took place in Russia could never have happened, because it was only a small handful of people who grasped the power, and that power could never have been so grasped if there had been leaders in each community who had sound common-sense ideas. So, thinking in the broadest terms, and in the very largest way, I feel that it is needful for an organization like this to develop and grow throughout Canada, to decide what they will do for the support of the Empire in Canada, and help to perpetuate the glorious traditions of our old British connection. I want to say a word of thanks to my secretary for the splendid work he has done, also for the extraordinarily good work of the Chairman of the Speakers' Committee, Mr. Fennell; and I want to thank all the others on the Executive Committee, as well as the members, for their kind support during the past year. I think we should extend congratulations to General Mitchell, a past president of this Club, who has just been appointed to a very honorable position as President of the Toronto Board of Trade. Then I want to say a word about the extraordinary young man who has brought such honour to Toronto and to Canada in performing a masterly feat of athletics—George Young. I hope he will live to develop the spirit that appears in his good mother, who has done so much for this boy. It is an object lesson in good British sportsmanship of which we ought to be very proud.

Gentlemen, my next task is one of great pleasure and honour, and that is to ask our incoming President to assume office, and I thank you very heartily for the support you have given me, and trust that the progress of the Club may be very satisfactory during the coming year.

The audience rose and gave three cheers and a tiger while the new President was taking his place.

COLONEL FRASER:—Colonel Kirkpatrick and gentlemen, my first duty is to express to you my sincere thanks for the honour you have just conferred upon me. Let me assure you that I value it very highly and my sincerest wish is that I may have the necessary time and strength to devote to the duties of the office, so that this honour will not be an empty one to me and your choice a disappointment to you.

The value of a club membership depends on the personal quality of the individual member. The two questions involved in membership are: first, the value of the member to the Club; second, the value of the Club to the member. These two questions are of primary importance and ought to be carefully considered in the selection of members.

The Empire Club has a fairly large membership on its roll, as club membership goes, and a large membership always requires able, energetic and wise management in order that the latent talent may be beneficially utilized to the advantage of the member and the enrichment of the corporate life of the club.

I have sometimes thought that a smaller, more compact and more aggressive membership, efficiently occupied, might produce more positive imperial results than are generally obtained. However that may be, we have a substantial list of members and if we combine to make the most of our golden opportunities we need have no anxiety as to the continued success of this Club.

MR. F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C., then expressed the thanks and gratitude of the Club to Colonel Kirkpatrick for his invaluable services as President during the past year.

HONORARY PRESIDENTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1903–1926.

1903–1912. Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1913. Field Marshall H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K.G., G.C.M.G.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

1903–04. 1904–05.	General James Mason.*
1905–06.	Reverend William Clark, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.*
1906–07.	Mr. J. P. Murray.
1907–08.	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1908–09.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.
1909–10.	Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
1910–11.	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.*
1911–12.	Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
1912–13.	Right Reverend James F. Sweeny, M.A., D.D., D.C.L.
1913–14.	Mr. Justice James Craig.
1914–15.	Lieut.-Colonel R. J. Stuart.
1915–16.	Mr. Albert Ham, Mus. Doc.
1916–17.	Mr. James Black Perry.
1917–18.	Mr. Norman Sommerville, M.A., K.C.
1918.	Mr. F. J. Coombs.
1919.	Mr. R. A. Stapells.
1920.	Mr. Arthur Hewitt.
1921.	Brig.-General C. H. Mitchell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. LL.D.
1922.	Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D.
1923.	Mr. Ellis H. Wilkinson.
1924.	Mr. William Brooks.
1925.	Rev. Dr. R. N. Burns.

HONORARY LIFE MEMBERS:

1904.	Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.
1910.	Rt. Hon. Sir George W. Ross, LL.D.*
1920.	Colonel Alexander Fraser, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
1924.	Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., D.C.L.

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*Deceased.